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BAGIMOND'S ROLL

FOUNDATION-CHARTER OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF DUNBAR

LAUDERDALE LETTERS

MEMORIES OF AYRSHIRE

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CONTENTS

PAGE

BAGIMOND'S ROLL: STATEMENT OF THE TENTHS OF THE KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND, *Edited by* ANNIE I. DUNLOP

INTRODUCTION 3

BAGIMOND'S ROLL 25

FOUNDATION-CHARTER OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF DUNBAR, A.D. 1342, *Edited by* D. E. EASSON

INTRODUCTION 81

FOUNDATION-CHARTER 89

ABSTRACT OF CHARTER 98

NOTES TO CHARTER 101

LETTERS FROM JOHN, SECOND EARL OF LAUDERDALE, TO JOHN, SECOND EARL OF TWEEDDALE, AND OTHERS, *Edited by* HENRY M. PATON

INTRODUCTION 113

LAUDERDALE LETTERS 121

MEMORIES OF AYRSHIRE ABOUT 1780, BY THE REVEREND JOHN MITCHELL, D.D., *Edited by* WILLIAM KIRK DICKSON

CONTENTS 243

INTRODUCTION 245

MEMORIES OF AYRSHIRE 253

INDEX 335

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BAGIMOND'S ROLL

STATEMENT OF THE TENTHS OF THE KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND

Edited by

ANNIE I. DUNLOP, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT.
DIPLÔMÉE OF THE VATICAN IN PALAEOGRAPHY

INTRODUCTION

THE name of Bagimond must have been something of a household word in Scotland in the later Middle Ages. The corrupt form in which it has come down to us is, indeed, an indication that it was familiar on the tongues of many a parishioner who knew nothing of the identity of Master Baiamundus de Vitia, Canon of Asti, or of the reason why and of the time when he was sent ' by our lord the Pope ' to the kingdom of Scotland as a papal collector. Succeeding generations of our forefathers were touched in their pockets by assessments which bore his name long after his original commission had expired and his personality been forgotten.

In more modern times historical scholarship has gradually brought new information to light about the date and circumstances of Bagimond's mission to Scotland; yet many baffling points have remained obscure, and the valuable contemporary fragment of his Roll, printed by Theiner in 1864, has never been thoroughly examined.[1]

Theiner's transcript was the work of an Austrian scholar, unfamiliar with Scottish names; it has no index, and is not set out in a form easy for the eye to scan. The book, moreover, is scarce in Scotland, so that Scottish students have not fully realised the value of the information buried in its pages. These shortcomings alone would justify a new edition to bring the Roll within reach of a wider circle of readers; and the desirability of doing so was

[1] Augustinus Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantia*, no. cclxiv, pp. 109-16 (Rome, 1864).

increased when Monsignor Angelo Mercati, Prefect of the Vatican Archives, pointed out that Theiner had omitted to print introductory matter of considerable importance. His old student and the Scottish History Society are grateful to him for this token of his lively interest in Scottish historical research.

The manuscript to which he thus drew attention is catalogued as *Collectoriae* 213, and its existence was not unknown, although it had escaped examination by Scottish students. It was investigated, for example, by the Norwegian scholar, P. A. Munch, in an earlier generation,[1] and by the American historian, Mr. W. E. Lunt of Haverfield College, in our own time.[2] The former pointed out that the codex consists of two separate parts in different hands, which were probably independent documents until bound together in the eighteenth century. The first part (fol. 1-29) consists of a summary made by the Pope's Chamberlain, Berard of Naples, about 1287, of the accounts of the Collectors-General who were sent all over Europe between 1275 and 1278. The second part (fol. 30-63) contains copies of specified lists of collections for Aragon, Portugal, England and Scotland ; and these were probably appended to the chief accounts.

Theiner has extracted the Scottish material in this latter seetion but has omitted the first section, while Professor Lunt has printed the first section but omitted the second. It is our present task, therefore, to publish both sections together in order to study Bagimond's Roll

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[1] *Pavelige Nuntiers Regnskabs og-Dagböger*, 1282-1334 (Christiania, 1864). Munch states that the codex has been foliated by the famous papal archivist, Garampi, in the second half of the eighteenth century ; and the present binding is probably also due to him. I am indebted to Miss Lilli Gjerlöw of Oslo for directing my attention to Munch's book, and for translating the relevant part of the introduction for my benefit.

[2] W. E. Lunt, ' A Papal Tenth levied in the British Isles from 1274 to 1280,' in *English Historical Review*, xxxii. 59-61.

in its historical setting. We then see clearly that the assessment of Scotland was merely an incident in a vast scheme of papal taxation. All the countries of Latin Christendom, from Scandinavia to Spain, from Cyprus to Ireland, were included in the great levy of tenths for the Holy Land imposed by the General Council of Lyons in 1274. Incidental references to the financial dealings of the Papacy with Charles of Anjou and the King of France remind us that political considerations outweighed the crusading zeal of the rulers of Christendom ; and we shall find many instances of this in our investigation of Bagimond's Roll as a record source for the history of contemporary Scotland.

The material which is here printed is, however, merely the latest of much new information made available through the publication of Papal Registers and English State Papers since the middle of last century. Before Theiner produced his *Monumenta* the chief authority for the episode of Bagimond was Fordun's *Scotichronicon*. This version ran that Bagimond was sent by ' our lord the Pope ' to Scotland to collect the tenths for the Holy Land. In an ecclesiastical Council at Perth in August 1275 he decreed that all beneficed clergy, without exception, should pay tenths of all the goods and income of the Church, not after the old taxation but according to their true value. Then at the request of the churchmen, ' not without great expenses and greater promises if he succeeded,' he went back to the Roman Court to beg the Pope to accept the old taxation of their goods, whereby seven years counted as six. But he returned to Scotland, having failed in his business, although he had spent large sums.[1]

[1] Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, ii. 122 (Goodall's edition, Edinburgh, 1759). A shorter version, with translation, is found in Skene's edition : *Fordun's Chronicle*, i. 306, ii. 301 ; it omits the clause within quotation marks above.

In confirmation of Fordun's general statement we now know on documentary evidence that, on 20th September 1274, Pope Gregory x. appointed Master Baiamundus de Vitia Collector-General in Scotland, with power of nominating deputies to collect the tenth which had been authorised by the General Council of Lyons for the relief of the Holy Land. He was to enjoy the indulgence granted to Crusaders and to be allowed three shillings a day for expenses.[1]

This tenth was neither the first nor the last subsidy to be raised in Scotland for the Crusades during the thirteenth century. The earlier collectors had encountered considerable opposition in their task [2]; and Bagimond had to face the same kind of difficulties as his predecessors, but for a longer period and in a more acute form.

The Scottish clergy felt the same natural resentment as their English brethren against a new imposition at a higher rate than the old taxation. Their alleged outcry against the innovation can be matched by that of the clergy of the province of Canterbury in 1276.[3] In Scotland, however, a further complication arose from the fact that the Scottish levy was interwoven with the relations of the Papacy with the King of England. Edward received a grant from Pope Gregory of the Scottish tenth (subject to the consent of the King of Scots), on condition that he took the Cross and was on the point of departure.[4] This grant was afterwards modified, but Edward continued to negotiate for the control of the Scottish subsidy. It must have seemed ominous to Scotsmen that, in 1276, Gerard de Grandson, papal Collector of the tenth in England, was

[1] Theiner, no. cclviii, p. 104 ; *Calendar of Papal Registers*, i. 449.

[2] See the summary given by Cosmo Innes in *Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, i. lxi-lxiii ; and by Professor W. E. Lunt.

[3] Lunt, 'Papal Taxation in England in the reign of Edward i.' (*E.H.R.*, xxx. 404-5).

[4] *Ibid.*, 409 ; Reynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, 1275, par. 44.

appointed Collector in Scotland also, with powers which overrode, or clashed with, those already conferred on Bagimond.[1] Although this commission was ineffective, the Scots must have resented it as a new opening for English interference ; and as early as this time the grievance may have called forth the remedy that was afterwards employed : namely, the prohibition of the export of money without licence of the Crown. Bagimond's position was in any case bound to be constantly affected by the mutual relations of England and the Papacy.

It is impossible to determine his attitude, and little is known of his movements during his first six years' term of office. On 5th May 1278 he received protection for a year from the English Government to go to the Court of Rome.[2] It is unlikely, however, that this journey was ever undertaken, for our document mentions no other visit to the Curia than that of 1287. Nevertheless, in 1278, Edward sent his emissaries to the Pope to request an immediate grant of the tenths [3] ; and one wonders whether Bagimond contemplated his mission as an additional agent of Edward or as the spokesman of the Scottish clergy, as Fordun asserts.

At any rate his stewardship was not very satisfactory in the eyes of Rome. When, at the beginning of 1282, he begged to be recalled on the ground that ' there was nothing further to be done in the business of the Holy Land tenth,' he was ordered first ' to proceed against those who, by non-payment, have incurred excommunication, and then to return and give a full account of what he has done and collected ' ; and he also received instructions concerning the assignation of the moneys to Italian bankers.[4] About

[1] Lunt, ' A Papal Tenth ' (*E.H.R.*, xxxii. 70, 71). Gerard de Grandson was Bishop-Elect of Verdun at the time of his appointment.

[2] *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1272-81, p. 263.

[3] Lunt, ' Papal Taxation in England ' (*E.H.R.*, xxx. 410).

[4] *C.P.R.*, i. 465.

the same time a new complication arose, when, on 7th March 1282, Pope Martin IV. appointed Master Geoffery de Veçano 'Collector of all the debts of the Holy Land—except tenths.'[1] The new Collector was resident in England and became an agent of Anglo-papal policy in Scotland.[2]

It is noteworthy that Master Bayamundus de Vicia was in England during that summer, and that, on 6th July, he received a safe-conduct for a year to go to Scotland.[3] Edward, who was in urgent need of money, presumably saw his interest in sending him back to speed up the collection of the tenth. The negotiations, which had been dragging on so long at Rome, were intensified at this time by Edward's need for money to finance his Welsh wars. In 1282 he sent envoys to Pope Martin with a new offer to take the Cross[4]; in return the Pope agreed to divert the Scottish subsidy to his use until the Crusade should be launched.[5] Edward felt strong enough to appropriate the English tenth in the crisis of the Welsh campaigns[6]; but his designs on Scottish contributions were frustrated by Alexander's refusal to allow the collections to be exported.

Bagimond had failed to fulfil the expectations built upon him. In July 1283 he was accordingly instructed to assign the moneys to Italian bankers 'as he was ordered, but has not done, but has, as is reported, drafted these men through Scotland on the pretext that he could not pay it

[1] *C.P.R.*, i. 476; Theiner, no. cclxxix, p. 126.

[2] On 15th March 1282 he was ordered to collect certain dues in Scotland (*C.P.R.*, i. 475-6; A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, ii. 681).

[3] *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, i. pp. 68, 218; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1281-92, p. 30.

[4] *Foedera*, i. 610; 10th June 1282

[5] Theiner, no. cclxxxv, p. 128; *C.P.R.*, i. 473. Edward's request was granted on 26th May 1284.

[6] Lunt, 'Papal Taxation in England' (*E.H.R.*, xxx. 411); Lunt, *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages*, ii. no. 287, pp. 120-21; Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, ii. 115 (Edition 1875.)

on account of the king's prohibition, and lent the money to his and others' advantage.'[1] His recall followed a few days later, on the ground that his stay in England 'was unfruitful, and he has disobeyed the Pope's orders.' Master Geoffrey de Veçano, his fellow-collector in England, was commanded to cite him to answer in person at the Curia within three months concerning 'himself and his collection.'[2]

Bagimond found himself on the horns of a dilemma. He was either powerless or unwilling to resist the Scottish Crown. Whether out of wilful disobedience or at the dictates of Alexander, he ignored the papal summons, and a year later was again ordered to answer for the whole of the tenth to the bankers, under pain of citation before the Pope and deprivation of his benefices.[3] The Scottish officials, however, persisted in their opposition and were said to have arrested some of the bankers with the money.[4]

Such was the state of affairs when the situation was changed by the death of Alexander III. in March 1285-86. The removal of his strong hand gave an advantage to his opponents in the contest for the control of the Scottish subsidy, and Edward was not slow to profit by the opportunity. On 20th April he obtained from Honorius IV. a confirmation of the grant made by Pope Martin of the Scottish tenth[5]; and six days later the English government issued a protection for 'Master Bayamund de Vicia, going to Scotland as the Pope's nuncio for two years.'[6] If he did repair to Scotland at this time, he certainly did not stay there for the whole term of his nunciature; for our document shows that, in March 1287, he at last appeared at the Roman Court to give an account of his collectory.

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[1] *C.P.R.*, i. 469. [2] *Ibid.*, 469. [3] *Ibid.*, 478.
[4] *Ibid.*, 481; Theiner, no. ccxcv, pp. 133-4; Lunt, *Papal Revenues*, ii. 100.
[5] *Ibid.*, 479; Theiner, no. cclxxxvii, p. 130.
[6] *Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 1281-92, p. 241.

He was again in England when, on 1st September 1289, he received a safe-conduct for a year to go to Scotland.[1]

Edward himself had just returned from the Gascon wars, which had occupied him from May 1286 till August 1289, and was about to launch out on a vigorous Scottish policy. At the same time, after tedious negotiations, Pope Nicholas IV., the successor of Honorius, renewed the grant of the Scottish tenth on 10th January 1290,[2] and again, in revised form, in the following year.[3] A similar concession of the English tenth 'was the occasion of the new and stringent valuation known as the Taxation of Pope Nicholas,'[4] and the same thoroughness which was expended in England was applied also in Scotland, where the English King was no longer impeded by a national monarchy strong enough to prohibit the export of gold. On the contrary, the little Scottish Queen was his prospective daughter-in-law, and after her death in the autumn of 1290 he continued to hold a dominating position as arbitrator between the claimants for the vacant throne. He had therefore the means as well as the will to give effect to the papal grant of the Scottish tenth. The task of his collectors, moreover, was made easier by the work that had already been accomplished by Bagimond.

That experienced tax-gatherer did not live to see the fruit of his labours. He was dead before 16th September 1291, when his old rival, Master Geoffrey de Veçano, was sent to settle accounts with his executors and to collect arrears.[5] His death, however, made little difference to the trend of events. His work was vigorously carried on by

[1] *Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 321; *Cal. Documents relating to Scotland*, ii. No. 382, p. 96.

[2] Theiner, no. cccxxiii, pp. 146-8; *C.P.R.*, i. 509; Lunt, 'Papal Taxation in England' (*E.H.R.*, xxx. 412).

[3] *C.D.S.*, ii. no. 469, p. 110; *C.P.R.*, i. 551; *Foedera*, i. 747-8, 750-1.

[4] Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, ii. 119 *n.*

[5] *Rotuli Scotiae*, i. p. 5.

his successor, John de Halton, Bishop of Carlisle,[1] during the period of Edward's overlordship of Scotland. It is clear from the Bishop's Register that the Scottish tenth was systematically levied, until the outbreak of the Wars of Independence made the task of collection impossible. Edward, in his capacity of overlord, was going with characteristic thoroughness into the details of government in Scotland. There are signs that he caused an investigation to be made of Scottish laws and administration for the use of his officials[2]; and it was no less to his interest to establish the fiscal system of the Church upon a sound foundation.

The surviving fragments of Bishop Halton's taxation, therefore, reflect the prosperity of the Scottish Church before the long wars had devastated the country. The impoverishment that resulted from the struggle for independence can be seen when the 'true value' of ecclesiastical benefices was again drawn up in 1366, with a view to raising taxation for the ransom of David II.[3] We find a shrinkage from the 'old taxation'; but this term had probably come to mean, not the assessment of William the Lion's reign but the perfected system of Bishop Halton.

The fragment which has survived of the original Bagimond's Roll shows that Bagimond had to build up his work from a rudimentary stage. Witness, for example, the diocese of St. Andrews, which in the first year of assess-

[1] The original commission was issued to the Bishops of Carlisle and Caithness in March 1291 (*C.P.R.*, i. 552; *Foedera*, I. part ii, p. 752). The latter, who was an Englishman, and an active agent of Edward's policy in Scotland after the death of Alexander III., died towards the end of 1291, and had no consecrated successor for some years (Dowden, *Bishops of Scotland*, 238-9). For practical purposes the responsible Collector was Bishop Halton, who succeeded to Carlisle in 1292 (*Register of John de Halton*, I. x. Canterbury and York Society, vol. xii.).

[2] It is thought, for example, that the famous so-called Berne MS., containing the earliest extant collection of Scots laws, was drawn up by English clerks for the guidance of Edward's officials at this time.

[3] *A.P.*, i. 499 (red pagination).

ment was divided only into two parts, the archdeaconries of Lothian and St. Andrews, while the list of benefices is very poorly arranged with regard to locality. The second year, however, shows some advance in organisation, notably in the splitting up of the archdeaconry of Lothian into the three component deaneries of Linlithgow, Haddington and Merse.[1]

That the process of development did not end here becomes evident from a comparison with the taxation roll of the same diocese preserved in the Registers of Dunfermline and Arbroath and the Priory of St. Andrews.[2] The archdeaconry of Lothian is there divided into the three deaneries of Linlithgow, Lothian and Merse, and the archdeaconry of St. Andrews into the five deaneries of Fothrif, Fife, Gowrie, Angus and Mearns. It is to be noted, further, that these monastic tax rolls enumerate the contributing benefices in the same order and at the same valuation, and that this is a higher assessment than that of 1275-76.[3] Cosmo Innes must therefore be wrong in his deduction that these chartularies have preserved the

[1] Chalmers, in *Caledonia* (iv. 502), writes that the deanery of Lothian, 'at the epoch of the ancient *Taxatio* [1176], included the whole parishes of Haddingtonshire and nearly the half of the churches of Mid-Lothian. Before the epoch of Bagimond [1275], the deanery of Lothian had changed its name to the *deanery of Haddington*, but it retained its ancient limits till the epoch of *the Reformation*.' From an unnamed source he prints what he calls the ancient Taxation of the deanery, but it shows a higher assessment than that of Bagimond. Chalmers was groping among the difficulties that beset historians before the publication of Vatican Registers, English State Papers and other official documents.

[2] *Reg. de Dunfermelyn*, 203-11; *Reg. de Abberbrothoc*, i. 231-47; *Reg. Prioratus Sancti Andree*, 28-38.

[3] Professor Tout in his introduction to the *Register of John de Halton* takes the opposite view (i. xi-xiv). But he bases his conclusions upon the estimated gross value of the bishoprics as prefixed to the detailed taxation of the diocese of St. Andrews in *Reg. de Abberbrothoc* (i. 231). This prefatory list is vaguely entitled 'an estimate of the bishoprics of Scotland according to some' (*secundum quosdam*). If one compares the receipts from the individual churches, the result shows a higher taxation than that of Bagimond.

'Old Taxation' and 'give us, beyond doubt, the state of church livings as in the beginning of the thirteenth century and but little altered probably since the period which followed immediately upon the great ecclesiastical revolution under King David I.'[1] If Bagimond had reduced the existing assessment he would have evoked no such outcry as that recorded by Fordun. Moreover, if he had found the diocese of St. Andrews divided into two archdeaconries and eight deaneries, it is hard to believe that he would have discarded such a useful administrative system. Finally, it cannot be without significance that the Abbot and convent of Dunfermline were collectors in the archdeaconry of St. Andrews under Bishop Halton,[2] and that the taxation roll of St. Andrews has been preserved in their Register.

All the evidence points to the conclusion that these returns, far from representing the old taxation of William the Lion's time, are the result of Bishop Halton's assessment. By comparing them with Bagimond's Roll we see the advance made in thirty years of tax-gathering; and the same kind of development is to be found also in the dioceses of Aberdeen and Moray, where much more detailed and elaborate rentals were in use within a century.[3] Just, therefore, as Bagimond built upon an earlier structure, so his work in turn provided a basis for his successors. Until the Reformation, indeed, the 'auld taxacions' that went by his name continued to be cited as the standard 'for the apportionment of ecclesiastical taxes,'[4] but an inves-

[1] *Orig. Par. Scot.*, I. xxxvii; cf. *Statuta*, I. lxvi *n.*

[2] *Register of John de Halton*, I. xx, 16. The Abbot of Arbroath was Collector for Dunkeld and Aberdeen (*Ibid.*, 16.)

[3] *Reg. Aberdonensis*, ii. 51-6; *Reg. Moraviensis*, 361-6. The editor considered the date of the Moray Roll to be about 1350 (p. xvii), but Cosmo Innes thought it a hand of the thirteenth century (*Orig. Par. Scot.*, I. xxxviii).

[4] *A.P.*, ii. 209; *Statuta*, I. lxvii. See also the introduction to 'Bagimond's Roll for the Archdeaconry of Teviotdale' (Scot. Hist. Soc., *Miscellany* v. 82).

tigation shows that in actual practice the returns fluctuated according to changing economic conditions. There is very little resemblance between sixteenth-century editions and the original statement rendered by Bagimond at the Papal Curia in 1287. Our document is therefore important as a landmark in a long process of development. By giving an authentic statement at a definite date, it provides a standard by which we can mark progress before and since that time.

Nevertheless it is inevitable that our Roll should omit much about which we should like to have fuller information. We would willingly know more, for example, about the difficulties which Bagimond encountered in collecting the tenth. The Roll makes reference to arrears of payment and contumacy, but leaves our curiosity unsatisfied as to the underlying clash of human interests. Only in the introduction do we glean anything of a biographical nature, when we read that Bagimond 'alleged that he took his journey from the Curia going to exercise the said office of Collector in the year 1274, eight days before the Feast of St. Michael.' [1] He must have travelled slowly if we are to believe Fordun that he did not impose his new assessment until 6th August 1275, in an ecclesiastical Council at Perth.[2] Perhaps he found, like his predecessors, that entrance into Scotland was not easy for a papal emissary who was not a legate. The Roll gives no hint of collusion, such as Fordun alleges to have taken place at Perth, between the tax-gatherer and the clergy whom he came to tax; nor does it allude to intromission with the tenths such as was laid to Bagimond's charge at Rome.[3] The only expression of doubt as to his financial integrity is the

[1] Probably 21st September, eight days before St. Michael's Day, 29th September. The Feast of the Apparition of St. Michael is 8th May.

[2] Fordun, ii. 301; above, p. 5.

[3] *C.P.R.*, i. 469; see above, pp. 8-9.

apparent dissatisfaction with the amount claimed by him for expenses.

We are, however, given an insight into the manner of collection of the tenth and the assignation of the money during the first two years of imposition.[1] The names of Andrew, rector of Inchbrayock, and Thomas de Preston, canon of Dunkeld, appear as sub-collectors. Part of the money seems to have been deposited with them and some at Melrose ; but Italian banking firms were the agents for transmitting it to the Curia. These bankers are seen to transact business on a large scale ; even to equate the national currencies of different values must have been no mean task. That the ounce of gold was their standard when negotiating international contracts we learn from the conditions of the loan which they made in the name of the Pope to the King of Sicily.

The references to this transaction are in many ways illuminating. We find the Papacy advancing money to secular princes upon the security of the Crusade tenths as a definite source of income. The religious aspect was subordinated to the temporal aims of ambitious rulers, who strove to divert the tenths of the Holy Land to their own uses in order to obtain command of the greatest possible revenue. In such circumstances, therefore, it is not surprising that Bagimond was ordered to systematise the assessment in Scotland. Apart from the loan to Charles of Anjou, the assignation of half of the first year's tenth to the King of France diminished the grant made to Edward I.[2] and was a precedent which he could turn to his own purposes.

[1] The Roll gives 'the total sum for three years' (7395 lib. 19 sol. 6d.), although the detailed returns cover only two years ; but it is merely a fragment of what must have been a vast record. The return for the archdeaconry of Teviotdale is extant for the whole term of six years (see Scot. Hist. Soc., *Miscellany* v. 79-106.)

[2] See above, p. 6.

It is a testimonial to the competence of the bankers and to the far-reaching ramifications of their financial system that they were able to deal, not only with problems of national currencies but also with difficulties of space and communications. So remote was Scotland from the Roman Court that when Bagimond 'went back to those parts' after the audit of 1287, the Curia could only indirectly keep trace of him. Nevertheless, in spite of all handicaps, there was considerable intercourse between Scotland and Rome. Our Roll reminds us that foreign clerics penetrated into Scottish benefices; that Scottish churchmen sent their agents to the Roman Court; and that some of them held office at the Curia.

Master Henry de Nottingham, whom we find in receipt of a pension from Caithness, acted on behalf of the dean and chapter of that Church at Rome in 1273 and 1279.[1] Master Adam de Makerston, again, was a papal chaplain, who was Provost of St. Andrews in 1258.[2] These scraps of biographical information, however, we learn from other sources than our Roll. Bagimond and his assistant collectors did not go out of their way to trim their report with irrelevant details; but the facts which they did state were authentic, and have therefore a special value for the student who seeks to ascertain the state of Scotland at the end of the thirteenth century.

He will notice, for one thing, that the political and ecclesiastical limits of the kingdom of Alexander III. did not coincide. Thus, although the Isles had been ceded to Scotland by Norway in 1266, the diocese of Sodor is not included as a Scottish see[3]; while Galloway, which was

[1] *C.P.R.*, i. 446, 457. One wonders if Master Henry was a native of Nottingham, England. If so, he may have been a kinsman or friend of Robert, Bishop of Dunblane, who was an Englishman from Ruddington, near Nottingham. (Dowden, 199.) [2] *C.P.R.*, i. 391; *C.D.S.*, ii. nos. 2126-7.

[3] It appears in a taxation list of Scottish dioceses in 1300. (*Register of John de Halton*, i. 153).

a suffragan of York, was reckoned a Scottish diocese and lay within the territorial bounds of the realm of Scotland.

It is interesting, further, to observe that the method of presenting the Galloway returns deviates from the normal, but that the administration of the diocese is well developed. At a time when according to our Roll the vast and wealthy bishopric of St. Andrews comprised only three deaneries, the small see of Galloway was divided into four. When this organisation took place is not known. Indeed, until Bagimond's Roll revealed the existence of the deanery of Glenkens, research had brought to light only the three deaneries of Desnes, Farines and Rhinns.[1]

Aberdeen alone among the Scottish sees possessed a greater number of deaneries [2]; and it is noteworthy that both the dioceses of Galloway and Aberdeen, although well organised and territorially compact areas, were nevertheless not co-extensive with any clearly defined political boundaries. It was an artificial division which cleft the modern sheriffdom of Kirkcudbright into the two deaneries of Desnes in Galloway and Dessenes in Glasgow diocese,[3] and which thrust an arm of the see of Moray like a wedge into the heart of Aberdeen. This feature is of peculiar significance. The fact that ecclesiastical boundaries cut across territorial divisions shows that here the Roman Church departed from its common practice of identifying a diocese with a pre-existing tribal or political unit. The explanation is that the Roman hierarchical system was superimposed not upon a pagan society but upon a pre-existing Celtic Christianity, monastic rather than parochial in character.

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[1] Chalmers, *Caledonia*, v. 415.

[2] There was a lively interest in administrative matters in Aberdeen about the middle of the thirteenth century. A body of statutes was drawn up in 1256 in terms of a papal bull. (*Reg. Epis. Aberdonen.*, ii. 38-50.)

[3] 'Bagimond's Roll for Archdeaconry of Teviotdale' (Scot. Hist Soc., *Miscellany* v. 84).

Deliberate policy on the part of the Crown founded the bishopries of Moray, Ross, Caithness and Aberdeen, and we find that these are fairly compact areas, although a small corner of Ross crosses over the natural boundary of the Beauly Firth into the diocese of Moray; and Moray projects into the territory of Aberdeen. Celtic foundations had previously existed in these regions, but there had been no diocesan organisation. Subtle traces of these early conditions can be detected by the discerning eye in Bagimond's Roll.

Celtic influence is reflected, for example, in place-names and church dedications, such as Bethelnie dedicated to St. Nachtane, Coull to St. Brioch and Philorth to St. Medan in the diocese of Aberdeen; Daviot to St. Colm, Kingussie to St. Columba and Alvie to St. Drostan in Moray; Dingwall to St. Colin, Tain to St. Duthac and Gairloch to St. Malrubh in Ross; Kilmalie to St. Maliew, Olrig to St. Trothan and Reay to St. Colman in Caithness. At the same time, the fact that the hierarchical superstructure was successfully imposed upon this Celtic groundwork is revealed by the reference to the ' common churches ' of Aberdeen and the large proportion of benefices which are designated prebends in these four dioceses. The prebends of the Chancellor, Precentor and Treasurer of Caithness, for example, are mentioned without naming the parish churches which provided their respective benefices. This characteristic is not, however, a noteworthy feature of the dioceses which evolved out of the old bishopric of Alban.[1] What does strike the observer is that these sees—Dunkeld, St. Andrews, Dunblane and Brechin—are much less compact areas than the four northern bishoprics.

Dunkeld held isolated parishes scattered through the diocese of St. Andrews from Bunkle and Preston in Berwickshire to Fearn in Angus, while the straggling

[1] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 323-4.

boundaries of Brechin cut up the territory of St. Andrews in the north. Inasmuch as Bagimond's Roll reflects all this, it provides a commentary upon the historical origins of the Scottish bishoprics. Abercrombie, for example, though entered under St. Andrews, appears also in the first year's returns of Dunkeld, although no payment is recorded (p. 48). It was not the business of the tax-gatherer to explain anomalies, and we must weigh the conclusions of Skene and other specialists if we would understand why, for example, 'Abernethy was within the limits of the diocese of St. Andrews and surrounded on all sides by her churches,' and yet 'belonged ecclesiastically to the diocese of Dunblane.' [1]

If, however, Bagimond's Roll serves on the one hand as a signpost to mark the progress of parochial organisation in Scotland since the adoption of the Roman system, on the other hand it indicates the direction of the changes which have taken place since the thirteenth century.

A comparison of the assessments of 1275-76 with those of later editions of the Roll [2] shows that it was often adapted to suit new conditions. If it 'served for the apportionment of ecclesiastical taxes until the Reformation,' [3] it did so only in so far as it provided a basis of taxation which could be adjusted to suit fluctuating circumstances.

With regard to organisation also, Bagimond's Roll provides a standard by which to measure later developments. We have already seen, for example, how the number of deaneries was increased in the diocese of St. Andrews,[4]

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[1] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 397.

[2] See *e.g.* Habakkuk Bisset's copy in *Rolment of Courtis*, vol. ii. 3-23. (Scot. Text Society, 1926.)

[3] Robertson, *Statuta*, i. lxvii.

[4] 'Bagimond's Roll for the Archdeaconry of Teviotdale,' which covers the first six years of assessment, is particularly useful as a study in the development of Glasgow diocese. (Scot. Hist. Soc., *Miscellany* v. 79-106.)

and that Galloway had four deancries instead of three as was formerly believed. Furthermore, incomplete as it is, it does give a fairly adequate indication of the number of parish churches which were at that time annexed to religious houses in the richest provinces of Scotland. When we remember the evils which were generated by the endowment of monasteries 'beyond what was wise,' [1] Bagimond's Roll becomes a useful document for marking how far the process had developed under the last direct descendant of the 'Sore Saint.'

Interesting also is the reference to hospitals already in existence in 1275 in the eastern parts of Scotland, from Berwickshire to Aberdeen: of the west our Roll gives, unfortunately, no record. Some of these houses were probably always inconsiderable, and have long since disappeared. As early as 1444, for example, it was uncertain whether Soltre had been founded as a 'simple hospital for the reception of the poor' or as a 'religious place' of the Order of St. Augustine.[2]

Just as the passing of time brought oblivion of former things, so also succeeding generations had to adapt themselves to new conditions. How this brought changes in the distribution of population is reflected in the pages of Bagimond's Roll. The most striking illustration is the number of parishes that have lost their separate identity since 1275. As many church unions were effected in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is clear that there must have been a considerable movement of population during the later Middle Ages, and that migrations are no new social problem. Even when Scotland was still predominantly an agrarian community under the feudal and clan systems, the pressure of economic factors was at work, and the result was seen in the re-grouping

[1] Major, *History of Greater Britain*, 136; cf. 165 (Scot. Hist. Soc., 1892).
[2] *Registra Supplicationum*, 400, fo. 34; 7th Oct. 1444.

of parishes after the upheaval of the Reformation. Similarly, the frequent readjustments that have since been necessary from time to time are sufficient indication that the forces of change and movement are never at rest.

A somewhat analogous feature has been the transference of ancient church sites to spots more adapted to existing conditions. The church of Penninghame, for example, was removed to Newton Stewart in 1777 [1]; Aberecrombie became St. Monans; and the church of Scoonie is now at Leven. New towns have sprung up and old ones have dwindled or disappeared; but the place-names of the ancient sites are an enduring memorial of the childhood of the nation. Indeed, their survival through constant transformations and corruptions is a symbol of the continuity that underlies change, and links the past with the present. The student of place-names, like many other scholars, will find a rich quarry in Bagimond's Roll. He will come upon early forms of spelling, whose full significance his trained mind can best assess; but he must also be careful to distinguish between the clerical errors of the copyist and the original names which the copyist misread.

It is to be remembered that our document is a transcript made by Roman clerks in Gothic script of unfamiliar names. The nature of their errors indicates that they were also copying from a Gothic original; and it is easy to see how corruptions would creep in. One is not surprised to find that initial letters presented a peculiar difficulty. Durris, for example, has been misread Aurres; the B of Baneuile [Benvie] has been transcribed as H; and the modern Carnbee appears as Karneby and Garnebrin. Some of these mistakes are easy to detect, but others are not so obvious; and this is true of medial as well as of

[1] *Fasti*, ii. 373.

initial letters. Thus the copyist frequently misreads c and t, u and n, as when he writes Perch for Perth, Grenlan for Greenlaw, Kyrecon for Kirkton. It is more difficult to determine what was the original form of the name that has been copied as Ponlewrd (p. 60), and of the place that has been transcribed as Pentathat, Pentacland and Pentland (pp. 33, 57, 58). Uncertainty surrounds these and other names, as the reader will find for himself. Indeed, work still remains to be done by specialists with local knowledge; and this is part of the attraction of our document.

It combines the method and accuracy of a statistical return with vagueness of background and incompleteness of detail. The collector and sub-collectors presented their statements, but they added no explanatory memoranda; and in especial they gave no reason for omitting the names of the contributing parishes in Glasgow and Argyle. We know that such statistics did exist for the diocese of Glasgow,[1] and that Bagimond's Roll in its present form is therefore incomplete. If its statements are important, its omissions are no less significant. It is partly categorical, partly evasive. On the positive side it is satisfying as a plain presentation of concrete facts; on the negative side it has all the fascination aroused by unsolved problems; and the two aspects together endow the Roll with a peculiar quality of its own.

In the task of identifying place-names and collating the transcript I have been greatly helped by Mr. Henry M. Paton, Curator of the Historical Department, H.M. General Register House; while the Rev. Dr. D. E. Easson of Mauchline has contributed some useful suggestions. Professor Oluf Kolsrud of Oslo kindly presented two rotographs of the first, or general, section of the document; and Professor

[1] 'Bagimond's Roll for the Archdeaconry of Teviotdale,' already printed by the Scottish History Society.

F. W. Powicke, Oxford University, drew my attention to Bishop Halton's Register. To all of these, and to Miss Lilli Gjerlöw for her translation from Munch, I would like to return my grateful thanks for help so ungrudgingly given ; and I would add a word of appreciation to the printers for their skill and carefulness in setting out a difficult text.

ANNIE I. DUNLOP.

De Regno Scocie.

Hec est exemplum cuiusdam libri de papiro inque continet collecta decime tre sce fei in dco Regno Scocie p magnum Bonifacium dei gracia Sancti Marie in dco collectorem dce decime & superintendentem. cuius totalis summa est p tribus annis. vij. cccl.xxxvj.libr. xviij.sol. & vj.den sterling. Cuius & libri tenor talis est.

Collecta decime tre sce in archid laodonie sancti sci Andree fei apud Kelcon porrigit Bonifacium p̄mum nat dñi anno & c. lxx.quarto. & beati Johis sup dce anno & c. lxxv. videlicet p̄mo anno solutionis.

Rector ecclie de Tymgthm. —— ix. marc.
Rector ecclie de Dryburgh. —— lx. sol. viij. den.
Vicarius de Roxburgh. —— v. sol. vlt. j. marc.
Vicarius de Coulton. —— j. marc.
Vicarius de Lesslaide. —— iij. marc.
Rector ecclie de Prestgton. —— iiij. marc.
Rector ecclie de Lothians. —— iij. marc.
Vicarius de Vall capitis. —— iij. marc. & dimd.
Penitor de Coggar. —— j. marc.
Rector ecclie de Hilton. —— xx. s.
Procur Rector ecclarum de Lytton & Fonldon. —— vj. marc. viij. s.
Rector ecc de Kildesch. —— v. marc.
Rector ecclie de Seeton. —— v. marc.
Vicar de Haredyn —— vj. s. viij. den.
Vicarius de Girnlan. —— xv. s. xvj. den.
Vicarius de Naythanthirn. —— j. marc.
Vicarius de Boggon. —— xv. s.
Rector ecclie de Aldhm. —— iij. s.
Hospital de Donf & ecc de Alom. —— iij. marc.
Rector ecclie de Coneseth in Cornus. —— iij. libr.
Vicar scī Egidij de Edenburgh. —— dimd marc.
Rector ecclie de pentland. —— viij. s.
Vicar de Inuthie. —— v. marc.
Rector ecclarum de Dunbar & de pentland. —— xvj. marc.
Rector ecclie de Kennay. —— iij. s. viij. den.
Vicar de Buthkie. —— xxvj. den.
Rector ecclie de Rathen. —— vj. marc.
Rector ecclie de Cruton. —— iij. marc.
Dño Epō scī Andree pomibus homs suis. —— c. libr. xiij. libr. xvij. den.
Vicar de Lenge stow. —— j. marc.
Rector ecclie de Lyntoū —— viij. libr.

RACIO DECIMARUM REGNI SCOCIE

In nomine Domini amen. Hec est racio quam Magister Baiamundus de Vicia Canonicus Astensis collector decime Terre Sancte in Regno Scocie per Sedem Apostolicam deputatus anno Domini m cc lxxxvij, pontificatus domini Honorii Pape iiij anno secundo Indictione xv de mense Marcii reddidit in Camera domini Pape coram domino Berardo domini Pape Camerario de racione decimarum ipsarum collectarum per ipsum et collectores deputatos inibi per eundem.

Primo assignat se recepisse in eodem Regno pro toto tempore vj annorum quo collectoris vacavit officio de dictis decimis in episcopatu Glasguensi collectis et de areragiis earundem decimarum—iiij^{m}v^{c}lxxv libr. iij s. et vj den. obol. et quartum ster.

Item in episcopatu Sancti Andree de decimiis et areragiis —vj^{m}v^{c} libr. iiij s. et ob. sterlingorum.

STATEMENT OF THE TENTHS OF THE KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND

In the name of the Lord, amen. This is the statement which Master Baiamund de Vicia, Canon of Asti, deputed Collector of the tenth of the Holy Land in the kingdom of Scotland by the Apostolic See, made in the Camera of the lord Pope in the month of March in the year of our Lord 1287, 2 Honorius IV, indiction 15, before lord Berardus, Chamberlain of the lord Pope, touching those tenths collected by him and the collectors deputed there by him.

Firstly, he attested to have received [*Scottish*: he granted to have received] in that realm for the whole space of six years in which he exercised the office of Collector of the said tenths, collected in the episcopate of Glasgow along with arrears

4575 lib. 3 s. and 6 den. obol. and quartum sterling.

Item in the episcopate of St. Andrews of tenths and arrears

6500 lib. 4 s. et ob. sterling.

Item in episcopatu Candide Case de decima et areragiis —viij^{c} et v libr. et xviij sterlingorum.

Item in episcopatu Ergadiensi de decimis et areragiis— iij^{c}xxv libr. et viij den. sterling.

Item in episcopatu Dumblanensi de decimis—vj^{c}lvj libr. xiij s. xj d. et ob. sterling.

Non fuerunt arcragia ibidem collecta.

Item in episcopatu Catanensi de decimiis—clxxx libr. xv s. et ij d. et ob. st.

Non colliguntur ibidem areragia.

Item in episcopatu Brachinensi de decimis—iij^{c}iiij^{xx} xiij libr. v s. et iij d. sterling.

Areragia quoque ibidem collecta non fuerunt.

Item in episcopatu Aberdonensi de decima et areragiis —mvij^{c} libr. xj s. x den. et ob. sterling.

Item in episcopatu Moraviensi de decima et areragiis —miij^{c}lv libr. xv s. et x d. sterling.

Item in episcopatu Rossensi de decimis—iij^{c}lxxvij libr. vij s. et viij d. sterling.

Exceptis areragiis duorum monasteriorum que ponuntur in episcopatu Moravie, areragia non collegit ibidem.

Item in the episcopate of Galloway of tenths and arrears
805 lib. and 18 s. sterling.
Item in the episcopate of Argyle of tenths and arrears
325 lib. and 8 den. sterling.
Item in the episcopate of Dunblane of tenths
656 lib. 13 s. 11 den. and ob. sterling.
No arrears were collected there.
Item in the episcopate of Caithness of tenths
180 lib. 15 s. and 2 den. and ob. sterling.
Arrears are not collected there.
Item in the episcopate of Brechin of tenths
433 lib. 5 s. and 3 den. sterling.
Arrears also were not collected there.
Item in the episcopate of Aberdeen of tenths and arrcars
1700 lib. 11 s. 10 den. and ob. sterling.
Item in the episcopate of Moray of tenths and arrears
1355 lib. 15 s. and 10 den. sterling.
Item in the episcopate of Ross of tenths
377 lib. 7 s. and 8 den. sterling.
Except for the arrears of two monasteries which are placed in the episcopate of Moray, he did not collect arrears there.

Summa summarum omnium predictorum sterlingorum receptorum pro toto tempore supradicto ascendit ad—xvij^{m}viij^{c}li libr. ij s. x den. et iij sterlingi sterlingorum. Que sunt—xxvj^{m}vij^{c}lxxvj march. viiij s. vj den. et iij sterlingi sterlingorum.

Item recepit ultra predictam summam pro contumaciis aliquorum—l march. sterling. Quibus additis prefate summe ascendit recepta ad—xxvj^{m}viij^{c}xxvj marc. viiij s. vj den. et iij sterling.

De quibus idem Magister Baiamondus se pro suo salario pro tempore supradicto et pro aliis vj annis quibus dicit se vacasse negotio collectoris huiusmodi et collectiones pro expensis factis in singulis episcopatibus circa dictam decimam asserit recepisse—viij^{c}xxxiiij libr. et xiiij s. sterl.

Que sunt—mcclij marc. et viij den. sterling.

Quibus expensis deductis de totali summa predictorum receptorum de pecunia decimarum restant—xvij^{m}xlviiij libr. xv s. vj d. ob. et quartum sterling.

De quibus receptis idem collector assignat se de mandato Sedis Apostolice deposuisse penes mercatores de societate domini Thome Spiliaci de Florencia pro ecclesia Romana

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The total of the sums of all the receipts sterling for the whole of the abovesaid time amounts to

17,851 lib. 2 s. 10 den. and 3 sterlings of sterlings,

which equal

26,776 marks 9 s. 6 den. and 3 sterlings sterling.

Item besides the aforesaid sum he received for certain contumacies—50 marks sterling. This, added to the above sum, brings the receipts up to

26,826 marks 9 s. 6 den. and 3 sterlings.

Of which the said Master Baiamond alleges that he has received for his salary for the above space and for other six years in which he was absent on the business of Collector, and collections for the expenses incurred in the sundry episcopates in respect of the said tenth

834 lib. and 14 s. sterling, which equal

1252 marks and 8 den. sterling.

These expenses being deducted from the sum total of the above receipts, there remain of the money of the tenths

17,049 lib. 15 s. 6 d. ob. and quartum sterling.

Of these receipts the Collector attested that at the mandate of the Apostolic See he deposited with the merchants of the firm of lord Thomas

et Terra Sancta ut quatuor continent instrumenta publica —miiij^{c}xlj libr. et iiij d. et quartum sterling.

Item penes mercatores de societate Pulicum et Rimbertinorum de Florencia ut iiij^{or} instrumenta continent deposuit—miiij^{c}xxxvj libr. viij s. et quartum sterl.

Item penes mercatores de societate Riccardorum de Lucca ut quatuor instrumenta continent deposuit—miiij^{c}xxxvj libr. viij s. et quartum sterl.

Item penes mercatores de societate Bonaventure Bernardini de Senis ut quatuor instrumenta continent deposuit —miiij^{c}xliii libr. xvj den. et quartum sterl.

Item deposuit penes mercatores earundem quatuor societatum ut iij continent instrumenta publica pro quarta parte pro qualibet societatum ipsarum inter ipsos quantitatem infrascriptam equaliter dividendam videlicet—vij^{m}iiij^{c}lvj libr. xv s. et iiij d. et quartum sterl.

Summa predictarum quinque particularum ascendit ad —xiij^{m}ccxiij libr. xiij sol. j den. et quartum sterl.

Que sunt—xviiij^{m}viij^{c}xx marc. vj s. v d. et quartum sterl.

Instrumenta autem de dictis quantitatibus habentur in Camera.

Spiliaci of Florence for the Roman Church and the Holy Land, as four public instruments contain,

1441 lib. and 4 den. and quartum sterling.

Item with the merchants of the firm of Pulices and Rimbertini of Florence he deposited, as four public instruments contain,

1436 lib. 8 s. and quartum sterling.

Item with the merchants of the firm of Riccardi of Lucca he deposited, as four public instruments contain,

1436 lib. 8 s. and quartum sterling.

Item with the firm of Bonaventura Bernardini of Siena he deposited, as four public instruments contain,

1443 lib. 16 den. and quartum sterling.

Item with the merchants of these four firms he deposited, as three public instruments contain, the underwritten amount, to be divided equally between them in four parts, namely,

7456 lib. 15 s. and 4 den. and quartum sterling.

The sum of the above five items amounts to

13,213 lib. 13 s. 1 den. and quartum sterling : equal to

19,820 marks 6 s. 5 d. and quartum sterling.

The instruments anent the said amounts are in the Camera.

Item deposuit penes mercatores de societate Circulorum de Florencia pro medietate decime primi anni Regni Scocie concesse Regi Francie—mcxxxvij libr. xviij d. et ob. sterl.

Et sic summa summarum omnium depositorum predictorum factorum penes mercatores suprascriptos ascendit ad—xiiij^{m}iij^{c}l libr. xiiij s. et vij den. et quartum. Que sunt—xxj^{m}v^{c}xxvj marc. xv den. ob. et quartum sterl. Computata pecunia medietatis decime primi anni pro Rege Francie assignata.

Unde facta racione de receptis ad deposita seu resignata et expensas remanent ad huc assignande per ipsum collectorem—ii^{m}vj^{c}lxv libr. xiiij s. et ij d. et ob. sterl.

De quibus assignat se deliberasse magistro Conrado de Villa Franca ut per sigillum suum et per sigillum magistri Giffredi de Veçan Camere domini Pape clerici asserit apparere litteras—ij^{m}iiij^{c}liij libr. xij s. x den. et ob. ster. depositum continentes.

Item assignat apud monasterium de Melroff [*sic*] Cisterciensis ordinis—c libr. ster. remansisse.

Item he deposited with the merchants of the firm of Curuli of Florence for half of the tenth of the first year of the kingdom of Scotland granted to the King of France

1137 lib. 18 den. and ob. sterling.

And thus the sum of the sums of all the foresaid deposits made with the merchants abovewritten amounts to

14,350 lib. 14 s. and 7 den. and quartum : which equal

21,526 marks 15 den. ob. and quartum sterling.

The money of the half tenth of the first year assigned to the King of France is included.

Hence the statement being made of the receipts deposited or disclosed and the expenses, there remain still to be assigned by the said Collector

2665 lib. 14 s. and 2 den. and ob. sterling.

Of which he attests that he delivered to Master Conrad de Villa Franca letters containing deposits amounting to

2453 lib. 12 s. 10 den. and ob. sterling,

as he alleges is apparent by his seal and the seal of Master Giffredus of Veçan, clerk of the Camera of the lord Pope.

Item he attested that there remain at the monastery of Melrose, Cistercian Order,

100 lib. sterling.

Item penes Andream rectorem ecclesie de Insula Sancti Bricchi collectorem dicte decime in archidiaconatu Londoniensi [*sic*] esse asserit—lxxx libr. sterl.

Item penes Thomam de Prestoun canonicum Dunkeldensem—xxviij libr. sterl.

Summa predictarum quatuor particularum prescripto modo assignatarum vel aliter non effectualiter ascendit ad—ij^{m}vj^{c}lxj libr. xij s. et x d. et ob. Et sic ad huc remanent assignande—iiij libr. xvj den. et quartum sterl.

Et est actendendum quod idem magister Baiamundus asserit se arripuisse iter de Curia eundi ad dictum collectoris officium exercendum anno domini mcclxxiiij per viij dies ante Festum Sancti Michaelis et quamquam reverteretur ad Curiam tempore domini Honorii Pape ad reddendum huius racionem regressus fuit ea reddita ad partes illas et nunc moratur ibidem et dicitur officium exercere.

(*Half a page blank.*)

Set est memorandum quod in mutuo—xv^{m}vj^{c} uncie auri facto de mandato domini Pape clare memorie domino

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Item with Andrew rector of Inchbrioch, collector of the tenth in the archdeaconry of Lothian, he alleges to be

80 lib. sterling.

Item with Thomas de Prestoun, canon of Dunkeld,

28 lib. sterling.

The sum of the foresaid four items assigned in the above way or otherwise not effectually amounts to

2661 lib. 12 s. and 10 den. and ob.

And thus there still remain to be assigned

4 lib. 16 den. and quartum sterling.

And it is to be remarked that the said Master Baiamund alleges that he took his journey from the Curia going to exercise the said office of Collector in the year of the Lord 1274, eight days before the Feast of St. Michael, and although he returned to the Curia in the time of the lord Pope Honorius to render this statement, when he had rendered it he went back to those parts and is now resident there and is said to be exercising the said office.

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But it is to be noted that in the loan of 15,600 ounces of gold made at the mandate of the lord Pope of good memory to the lord Charles King

Karolo Regi Sicilie apud Castrum plebis seu magistro Geberto de Sancto Quintino et domino Odoni Pelatino procuratoribus eiusdem Regis ad huius mutuum contrahendum nomine Regis prefati per [*blank*] mercatores Camere de domini Thome Spiliaci et Lapi Hugonis de Pulicum et Rinbertinorum de Florentia de Riccardorum de Lucca et de Bonaventure Bernardini de Senis Societatibus nomine eorundem de pecunia decimarum Terre Sancte in Regno Scocie ac quibusdam aliis partibus collecta fuerunt solute quantitates infrascripte.

Primo dicti mercatores communiter scilicet quilibet pro quarta parte ante videlicet quam pecunia decimarum ipsarum de qua dominus Papa mutuari mandaverat sub certa forma eorum nomine quantitatem supradictam ad manus perveniret ipsorum—xij^{m}ij^{c} uncias auri in dicto mutuo persoluerunt quibus pos[t]modum dominus Papa concessit per suas litteras ut—xj^{m}iiij^{c}xxxxvij marc. et vj s. sterlingorum novorum pro recompensatione dictarum—xij^{m}ij^{c} unciarum auri ab eis solutarum cum eadem decima Scocie quam eis assignari mandaverat ad manus ipsorum pervenerint videlicet cuilibet Societatum predictarum pro quarta parte liceat retinere mandans quod eis interim pro ipsorum securitate decime Alamanie et Portugalie per ipsum Camerarium deberent in depositum assignari.

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of Sicily at Castrum Plebis or to Master Gebert de Sancto Quintino and lord Odo Pelatinus procurators of the said King for contracting this loan in his name by [*blank*] merchants of the Camera of the firms of lord Thomas Spiliaci and Lapus Hugonis, of Pulices and Rinbertini of Florence, of Riccardi of Lucca and of Bonaventura Bernardini of Siena in their name of the money of the tenths of the Holy Land collected in the kingdom of Scotland and certain other parts there were paid the amounts underwritten.

First, the said merchants in common, namely each for a fourth part, before the money of the said tenths (from which the lord Pope had ordered the above amount to be given as a loan under a certain form in their name) had come to their hands, paid 12,200 ounces of gold in the said loan: to whom the lord Pope afterwards granted by his letters that they might retain 11,447 marks and 6 shillings of new sterling in recompense of the said 1220 ounces of gold paid by them, when the said tenth of Scotland, which he had ordered to be assigned to them, came to their hands, namely, to each of the foresaid firms a fourth part; commanding that in the meantime for their security the tenths of Germany and Portugal should be assigned to them in deposit by the Chamberlain.

Unde facta racione de predictis receptis ad expensas et mutua facta de eis apparet quod restant—xiiij^{m}lxxxvj marc. et dimid. et ob. et quart. si admictantur expense quas dictus Baiamundus retinuit pro xij annis si vero non admictentur omnes tanto plus restabit quanto de expensis suis diminuitur. Quantitas autem predicta est apud mercatores et in partibus illis et ipse collector debet aliquid restituere prout superius continetur.

* * * * *

De Regno Scocie

Hoc est excmplum cuiusdam libri de papiro in quo continetur collectio decime Terre Sanctc facta in dicto regno Scocie per Magistrum Boyamundum de Vicia Canonicum Astensem Collectorem dicte decime et superintendentem. Cuius totalis summa est pro tribus annis vij^{m}ccclxxxxv libr. xviiij sol. et vj den. sterlingorum. Cuius eciam libri tenor talis est.

Collectio decime Terre Sancte in Archidiaconatu Laodonie episcopatus Sancti Andree facta apud Kelcon [Kelso] per Magistrum Boyamundum pro terminis Nativitatis Domini anno etc. lxx quarto et Beati Johannis Baptiste anno etc. lxxv videlicet pro primo anno solutionis.

Whence, the statement being made about the foresaid receipts as to the expenses and the loans made from them, it appears that there remain 14,086½ marks and ob. and quartum, if the expenses which the said Baiamund has retained for twelve years are admitted; but if they are not admitted, then there will remain as much more as his expenses amount to. But the foresaid amount is with the merchants and in those parts, and the said Collector ought to restore something, as is contained above.

* * * * *

Of the Realm of Scotland

This is the transcript of a certain paper book in which is contained the collection of the tenth of the Holy Land made in the said kingdom of Scotland by Master Boyamund de Vicia, Canon of Asti, Collector of the said tenth and superintendent. Of which the total sum for three years is 7395 lib. 19 sol. and 6 den. sterling. The tenor of the said book is as follows:

Collection of the tenth of the Holy Land in the archdeaconry of Lothian in the episcopate of St. Andrews, made at Kelso by Master Boyamund for the terms of the Nativity 1274 and of St. John the Baptist 1275; that is, for the first year of payment.

Rector Ecclesie de Tynigham [Tynninghame]	ix marc.
Rector ecclesie de Herihot [Hcriot]	lj sol. viij den.
Vicarius de Norberwic [1]	x sol. ultra j marc.
Vicarius de Boultoun	j marc.
Vicarius de Leswade	ij marc.
Rector ecclesie de Mornigtoun [Mordington]	iiij marc.
Rector ecclesie de Bothans [2]	iij marc.
Vicarius de Varia Capella [Falkirk]	ij marc. et dimid.
Procurator de Gogger	j marc.
Rector ecclesie de Hiltoun	xxx s.
Procurator Rectorum ecclesiarum de Lystoun et Foulden	vj marc. viij s.
Rector ecclesie de Keldeleth [Kinleith] [3]	v marc.
Rector ecclesie de Sectoun [Seton]	ij marc.
Vicarius de Karedyn [Carriden]	vj s. viij den.
Vicarius de Grenlau [Greenlaw]	xx s. xvj den.
Vicarius de Naythanthirn [Nenthorn] [4]	j marc.
Vicarius de Foggou [Fogo]	xx s.
Rector ecclesie de Aldham [Aldhame] [5]	iiij s.
Hospitale de Dons [Duns] et ecclesia de Ellom	iiij marc.
Rector ecclesie de Conevech in Mernis [6]	iiij libr.
Vicarius Sancti Egidij de Edenburgh	dimid. marc.
Rector ecclesie de Pentland	viij s.
Vicarius de Inuerwic	ij marc.
Rector ecclesiarum de Dunbar et de Pentland [7]	xxij marc.

[1] The initial N has puzzled the Roman scribe. He seems to have been copying a decorative N, such as is common in charters of the period, and to have read it as Bef[orberwic].

[2] Modern Yester. See *Ancient and Historical Monuments Commission : East Lothian*, pp. 144-5.

[3] Modern Currie.

[4] The old name was Nathansthyrne. (*Fasti*, ii. 83.)

[5] Now in parish of Whitekirk.

[6] Now Laurencekirk.

[7] Pentland ; cf. Pentathat, Pentacland, classed with Dunbar in the later entries (pp. 57, 58). The place is probably Pinkerton, which became later a prebend of Dunbar. (*Fasti*, i. 406 ; *Caledonia*, iv. 511, 538 *n.*)

Rector ecclesie de Slemanan	iij s. viij den.
Vicarius de Bathkit	xxxij den.
Rector ecclesie de Ratheu	vj marc.
Rector ecclesie de Cristoun [Crichton]	iij marc.
Dominus Episcopus Sancti Andree pro omnibus bonis suis	c libr. xix libr. xvij den.
Vicarius de Leuigestoun [Livingstone]	j marc.
Rector ecclesie de Lyntoun	viij libr.
Rector ecclesie de Strabroc [Strathbrock] [1]	ij marc viij s.
Rector ecclesie de Neutoun	xx s.
Rector ecclesie de Halis [Hailes] [2]	ij marc.
Rector ecclesie de Morame	ij marc. v s. iiij den.
Procurator Monasterii de Cambuskynel [Cambuskenneth]	vij libr. xv s. v den. ob.
Vicarius de Hadingtoun	xx sol.
Vicarius de Lynlithcu	xxj s. iiij den.
Vicarius de Karale [Crail]	iiij marc.
Procurator Monasterii de Driburg	xl marc.
Vicarius de Childenchirc [Channelkirk]	ij marc. et dimid.
Procurator monasterii Sancti Andree	xx lib. xviij s. lx den.
Dominus Abbas de Passelay pro ecclesiis de Lyghardeswod et Inuerwic [Legerwood and Innerwick]	v marc.
Vicarius de Loghorvert [Lochorwart] [3]	xx s.
Vicarius de Erceldoun [Earlston]	ij marc.
Vicarius de Craniston	j marc.
Executor Rectoris de Aldhamstokis [4]	x marc. iiij s. iiij den. ob. qu.
Vicarius de Stichil	j marc.
Vicarius de Edcnham [Ednam]	j marc.
Doddingeston	j marc.
Rector ecclesie de Smalhame	iiij marc.

[1] Now Uphall. [2] Now Colinton. [3] Modern Borthwick.

[4] Aldhamstocks was merged in the barony of Dunglass, and is now in the parish of Cockburnspath. (*Caledonia*, iv. 550-1 ; *Fasti*, i. 403.)

Rector ecclesiarum de Chirnissede et de Wichosem [Chirnside and Whitsome]	xij marc.
Rector ecclesie de Kynspindi [Kilspindie] [1]	iiij marc.
Vicarius de Swyntoun	j marc.
Vicarius de Ederham [Edrom] [2]	iij marc.
Item pro contumacia	j marc.
Rector ecclesie de Aldcambus	xx s.
Vicarius de Berwnc [*sic* : Berwick]	iiij marc.
Rector ecclesie de Hupsetlingtoun [Upsetlington] [3]	xxx sol.
Vicarius de Golyn	ij marc. et dimid.
Idem vicarius pro contumacia soluit subsidio Terre Sancte	v s.
Rector ecclesie de Keth Marescall	ij marc.
Vicarius de Keth Undeby [Keith-Humbie]	j marc.
Prior de Insula de Levin	iij marc. et dimid.
Rector ecclesie de Lastalric [Restalrig]	iij marc.
Idem pro ecclesia de Cokepen	iij marc. et dimid. xxxij den.
Idem pro vicaria de Langtoun	ij marc.
Idem pro contumacia	j marc.
Vicarius de Aldcambus	xvj s. iiij den.
Rector ecclesie de Flisc	ij marc. et dimid.
Rector ecclesie de Erole	xij marc. viij s. iiij den.
Vicarius de Ligharwd [Legerwood]	ij marc. et dimid.
Procurator monasterii Sancte Crucis	lxij libr. v s. ix den.
Abbas de Kelcon [Kelso]	c marc. j marc. et xvj den.
Prior de Coldingham	lxxiiij marc. ix d. ob. pro omnibus bonis suis.

[1] Now united with Rait.
[2] United with Cockburnspath. (*Fasti*, i. 405.)
[3] Now known as Ladykirk. (*Fasti*, ii. 53.)

Pro Priore Dunelmensi [Durham]	xij marc. x s. viij d.
Abbas de Aberbrothoc [Arbroath]	lxx marc.
Abbas de Droburg [Dryburgh]	x marc.
Magister Adam de Malcarnistoun [1] pro omnibus ecclesiis suis	xxvij marc.
Rector ecclesie de Fordun	xj marc.
Rector ecclesie de Keth Marescall nomine pene	j marc.
Vicarius de Keth Undeby nomine pene	dimid. marc.
Abbas de Passelay	iij marc. viij s. iiij d.
Vicarius de Grenilif [Glenisla] in Episcopatu Brekynensi	dimid. marc. pro contumacia
Summa totalis	v^{c} lib. iiij^{xx} lib. x lib. iij s. iij den. ob. quartum.
Item de collecta Magistri Johannis de Muskelburg [2]	xliij lib. vij s. iiij den.

Receptio decime in Archidiaconatu Sancti Andrec pro anno predicto.

De ecclesia de Dinres [Durris]	ij marc.
Ecclesia de Deruesin [Dairsie] [3]	iiij marc.
Vicarius de Cupro	xxij s. viij den.
De Kynros	ij marc.
Ecclesia de Thanchais [Tannadice]	vj marc.
Vicarius de Eglesgirg [Ecclesgreig] [4]	xx s. xij d.
Ecclesia de Lundi	ij marc. et dimid.
Ecclesia de Edewyn [Idvie] [5]	xvij s.
Vicarius de Strathegoin Comitis [Earl's Stradichty]	v s. iiij den.

[1] Master Adam de Malkeruiston, rector of Ceres, was appointed a papal chaplain in 1263. (*C.P.R.*, i. 391.) His name appears frequently as a witness in *Reg. Prioratus Sancti Andree.*

[2] Master John of Muskylburg is named as formerly Official of the Bishop of St. Andrews in a charter of Dunfermline, dated 1274. (*Reg. de Dunfer.*, p. 121.)

[3] Dairsie belonged to the Priory of St. Andrews before this date. See *Reg. Prioratus Sancti Andree*, p. 72.

[4] Modern St. Cyrus. [5] Now Kirkden.

Vicarius de Dunbloc [Dunbog]	j marc.
Vicarius de Kinglassi	j marc.
De Kenetar et de Inuerarcthin [Kinnettles (?) and Inverarity]	iij marc. ij s. viij d.
Vicarius de Kerimur	ij marc. ij s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Aberimilay et de Andisgros [1]	ij marc. xij d.
Vicarius de Largach [2] [Largo]	xxij s. vj d. ob.
Ecclesia de Fercemoth [Forteviot]	iij marc.
Vicarius de Garnebrin [Carnbee]	xx sol.
De Magistro Fontis Scocie [Scotlandwell] pro ecclesiis de Huchtermunsi et Karnoch [Auchtermunsie and Carnock]	xxxv s. iiij den.
Vicarius de Kyrcaldyn [Kirkcaldy]	j marc.
Vicarius de Kyncroach [3]	ij marc.
Ecclesia de Kylmanyn [Kilmany]	iiij marc. iij s. ix d. ob.
Ecclesia de Muchard [Muckhart]	j marc.
Ecclesia de Disard [Dysart]	ij marc. v s. iiij d.
Vicarius de Losrech [Lathrisk]	j marc.
Vicarius de Clacmanan	xxij s.
Ecclesia de Torry	x s.
De ecclesiis de Donethae et Quilt [Dunino and Cults]	ij marc. iiij s.
Ecclesia de Kynesc [Kinneff]	iiij marc.
Ecclesia de Monimel [Monimail]	iiij marc.
Ecclesia de Blare [Blairgowrie]	ij marc.
Ecclesia de Kylgouerin [Kilgour] [4]	iij marc.
De ecclesiis de Kynel et de Aldebar	iij marc. x s. viij d.
De ecclesiis de Benum et de Aberloth [5]	xj marc. vj s. viij den.

[1] Abercrombie and Arngask, cf. below, p. 64. The church of Abercrombie is now at St. Monans.

[2] The contraction which has been read as *-h* in Largach might also read *-us*.

[3] Probably Kilconquhar, which was given to the nuns of North Berwick about 1200. (*Carte Monialium de Northberwic*, p. 7.)

[4] Modern Falkland.

[5] Aberloth appears to be Aberlethnot ; but the spelling of the name has given considerable trouble to the scribe. Cf. pp. 63, 64. Both Benholme

De pensione R. de Brad apud Dufermelyn [1]	x s.
Ecclesia de Creich	ij marc.
Ecclesia de Culas [Collace]	iij marc. viij s.
Ecclesia de Hughtermukedy [Auchtermuchty]	iij marc. et dimid.
Ecclesia de Logimnohaud [Logiemurdoch]	ij marc.
Vicarius de Lostelresk [Lathrisk] per augmentum	ij s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Forthir [Forfar]	dimid. marc.
Vicarius de Nithbren [Newburn] [2]	v s. iiij d.
Vicarius de Cles [Cleish]	viij s. viij d.
Vicarius de Neutil [Newtyle]	x s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Kilgouerin per augmentum	viij s.
Vicarius de Inuerkileth [? Inverkeilor]	viij s.
Vicarius de Inchethur [Inchture]	xx s.
Vicarius de Cules	xx s.
Vicarius de Glamnes	xxxij s.
Vicarius de Monifoth	j marc.
Vicarius de Rossincleragh [3]	x s. viij d.
Vicarius de Aberloth	xvj s.
Vicarius de Foules in Gouerin [Fowlis-Easter]	ix s. iiij d.
Vicarius de Morens [Murroes] [4]	iiij s.
Ecclesia de Luncrethyn [Lintrathen]	xx s.
Ecclesia de Doruesin [Dairsie] per augmentum	dimid. marc.

and Aberlethnot are comprised in the present parish of Fordun. It is to be noted, however, that the vicarage of Aberloth, mentioned below, is assessed at the same rate as Abirheloth (p. 63). This seems to be Arbirlot.

[1] A Radulph de Brade, clerk, appears as a witness in 1250 in *Reg. de Dunfermelyn*, p. 120.

[2] See Index, *Reg. de Dunfermelyn*, for variants of this name.

[3] Rossanclearagh, now Rossie, forming a united parish with Inchture. (*Fasti*, v. 342.) See L. Melville, *The Fair Land of Gowrie*, 8-9.

[4] Murroes or Murehouse ; cf. Muremiysi (p. 63). See Index to *Reg. Vetus de Aberbrothoc* for variants of the name.

Vicarius de Inuerkechin	xxj s. x d. ob.
Vicarius de Loghros [Leuchars]	iiij marc.
Vicarius de Schony [Scoonie] [1]	j marc.
Vicarius de Forgrund [Forgan]	xx s.
Ecclesia de Methkil	viij s.
Ecclesia de Mouimel [Monimail]	iij marc. xij d.
Ecclesia de Blar per augmentum	ij marc.
Vicarius de Kemanthin [? Kennoway]	x s.
Vicarius de Forgrund in Goueryn [Longforgan]	xx s.
Vicarius de Mathing [? Meathie] [2]	xvj s.
Ecclesia de Quilt [Cults] per augmentum	iiij s.
Ecclesia de Dunuenanth [Dunino] per augmentum	ix d. ob.
Ecclesia de Inchebrioc [Inchbrayock] [3]	iiij marc.
Ecclesia de Fecherkern [Fettercairn]	xxxiij s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Syrais [Ceres]	iij marc.
Ecclesia de Lonchorn [4]	vi marc.
Ecclesia de Haneuile [Benvie] [5]	x s.
Ecclesia de Kynros	xiij marc.
Abbas de Cambuskynel	lxiij s. ix d. ob.
Abbas de Lundors	viij lib. xvj s. xj d. ob.
Abbas de Dunfermelyn	lxviij lib. ij s. in Archidiaconatu Sancti Andree.
Prior Sancti Andree	lx lib. xvj s. x d.
Item de bonis dicte Abbatie in Laodon	xxiij lib. viij s. ix d.

[1] The parish church of Scoonie is now at Leven in Fife. (*Fasti*, v. 116.)

[2] This seems to be the vicarage of Machyn or Meathie, now united with Inverarity. (*Fasti*, v. 292.) It belonged to Coupar Abbey. Cf. p. 61 *n.*

[3] Now Craig.

[4] This name cannot be certainly identified. It suggests Lochore, or its variants Louchorn, Louchor. (*Pitfirran Writs*, Nos. 1, 2.) But Lochore was not a parish although it had a church. It also resembles some forms of Leuchars (*e.g.* Lonthers, below, p. 61) ; but if it be meant for Leuchars, it must refer to the rectory, as full payment is recorded for the vicarage.

[5] See *Prioratus Sanctiandree*, p. 35.

Item pro officio Sacriste	xl s.
Prior de Rustinoth [Restennet]	x marc. xij s.
Ecclesia de Essy	xxxvj s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Magna Kyrgorn [Kinghorn]	c s.
Adam de Anand per augmentum bonorum suorum videlicet de ecclesiis de Monimel et de Blare.	l s.
Vicarius de Dun	vj s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Kymmiyl [? Kinnoull] [1]	iiij marc.
Ecclesia de Duninaght [Dunino]	iij s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Logyn [Logie]	ij marc.
Vicarius de Perch [Perth]	j marc.

Summa totalis ccc lib. iij lib. iiij d. ob. Et sciendum quod summa depositi est cccxxj lib. xvj s. ob. Item de Schon xl lib.

Episcopatus Glasguensis

Summa totius decime recepte in Episcopatu Glasguensi pro primo anno solutionis v^{c} lib. xxxj lib. xvij s. iiij d. ob. Item ix marc. et dimid. conputata decima Episcopi.

Collectio decime in Episcopatu Aberdonensi pro primo anno.

Decanatus de Garuiath

Abbas de Abberbroth	xl marc.
Abbas de Lundors	xxxiij lib. iij s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Ouen [Oyne]	iij marc.
Vicarius de Durnach [Durno] [2]	ij marc.
Vicarius de Lesselyn [Leslie]	x s.
Vicarius de Insula [Insch]	xvij s. iiij d.
Vicarius de Forg [Forguc]	xx s.
Vicarius de Culsamuel [Culsalmond]	x s.
Eeclesia parochialis de Munimusc	v marc. iiij s.

[1] Perhaps Kinnoul, which was given to Cambuskenneth about 1361. See *Cartulary of Cambuskenneth*, p. 224.

[2] Logie-Durno, now Chapel of Garioch.

Vicarius de Rathmuriel	dimid. marc.
Vicarius de Inuerury	xxiiij s.
Vicarius de Kynalkemurch [Kennethmont]	j marc.
Vicarius de Bourdi [Bourtie]	viij s. viij d.
Vicarius de Fintreth [Fintray]	xvij s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Tulynestin	ij marc. et dimid.
Ecclesia de Otcerlis [Auchterless]	viij marc.
Vicarius de Botheleny [Bethelnie] [1]	x sol.
Vicarius de Prameth [Premnay]	x sol.
Ecclesia de Damoch [Dalmayock] [2]	vj marc.
Prior de Monimusc	x marc.
Ecclesia de Raan [Rayne]	viij marc.
Ecclesia de Kynkel	xij marc.
Summa	c lib. v lib. xx den.

Decanatus de Marre

Ecclesia de Morthelac [Mortlach]	v marc.
Ecclesia de Ranandor [? Auchindoir]	iij marc. viij s.
Vicarius de Kege	xx s.
Ecclesia de Creghi [Crathie]	x s.
Ecclesia de Quisseny [Cushnie]	ij marc. et dimid.
Vicarius de Afford [Alford]	dimid. marc.
Ecclesia de Dunmeth [? Dinnet]	x s.
Vicarius de Kynimuch [Kinmuck] [3]	x sol. viij d.
Vicarius de Cleyn [Cluny]	xvij s. iiij den.
Vicarius de Cule [Coull]	dimid. marc.
Vicarius de Eych [Echt]	xxj s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Obeyn [Aboyne]	iiij marc.
Vicarius de Loyel [Leochel] [4]	viij s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Tulugh [Tullich]	xx sol.
Vicarius de Kynbethoc [Kinbathoch] [5]	ix sol. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Brasse [Birse]	iiij marc. et de Aqua i marc.

[1] Now parish of Meldrum. (*Fasti*, v. 173.)
[2] Now Drumoak.
[3] Kinmuck; perhaps meant for Glenmuick.
[4] Now united with Cushnie.
[5] Modern Towie.

Ecclesia de Colessen [Colstone]	ij marc. et dimid.
Magister [1] dedit pro portione sua quam habet in ecclesia de Migmar	viij s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Kyndromy	ij marc. et dimid.
Vicarius de Taruelan [Tarland]	vj s. viij d. pro uno termino.
Prior Sancti Andree	iiij libr. viij s. iij d.
Ecclesia de Forles [Forbes]	j marc.
Ecclesia de Keryn [Kearn]	j marc.
Vicarius de Migaueth [Migvie]	dimid. marc.
Magister hospitalis de Onel pro omnibus ecclesiis et terris suis	xiiij marc.
Ecclesia de Clat	iij marc. et dimid. vij d. ob.
Ecclesia de Inuernothy [2]	iij marc.
Summa	xliiij libr. v s. x d. ob.

Decanatus de Aberdon

G. de Saulyn pro portione quam habet in ecclesia de Aberden	v s.
Ecclesia de Benchori deueueth, [Banchory-Devenick]	iiij marc.
Vicarius de Culter	j marc.
Vicarius de Benchortarny [Banchory-Ternan]	j marc. ij s. iiij d.
Decanus de Aberdon	xij marc. pro decanatu suo.
Procurator Capituli Aberdonensis pro ecclesiis communitatis	ij marc. xxxij d.
Fratres Sancte Trinitatis de Aberdon [3]	xvj s.
Magister S. de Bosco pro pensione sua in ecclesia de Der	xxiiij s.
Summa	xv libr. xvj s. viij d.

[1] Magister David ; cf. p. 66. [2] Invernochtie, now Strathdon.

[3] The house of the Brothers of the Holy Trinity is said to have been founded by William the Lion in 1211. (*Antiquities, Aberdeen and Banff*, i. 203-4 ; P. J. Anderson, *Aberdeen Friars*, p. 11.)

Decanatus de Bughan

Ecclesia de Logyntalargy [Logie-Buchan] [1]	iij marc.
Vicarius de Lungle [Longley] [2]	xxiiij s.
Vicarius de Garnais [Tarves]	xl. s.
Ecclesia de Inuerugy Petri [Peterugie] [3]	iij marc.
Ecclesia de Lunmeth [Lonmay]	xxiiij s.
Ecclesia de Rathi [Rathen]	iiij marc. v s. iiij d.
Vicarius de Fiuin [Fyvie]	iij marc.
Ecclesia de Slanes	ij marc.
Ecclesia de Filorth [Philorth] [4]	ij marc. v s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Fouerne [Foveran]	viij marc.
Ecclesia de Methlech [Methlick]	v marc. x s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Retref [Rattray] [5]	iij marc.
Ecclesia de Crudin	v marc.
Ecclesia de Elon	xj marc.
Vicarius eiusdem	vj marc.
Ecclesia de Furui [Forvie]	j marc.
Summa	xl libr. lvj s.

Decanatus de Bothen [6]

Vicarius de Banf	xx s.
Vicarius de Tyry	x s. pro tota ecclesia.
Ecclesia de Aueth [Alvah]	vj marc.
Ecclesia de Kyneddard [Kingedward]	iiij marc.
Ecclesia de Forthes [Fordyce]	viij marc.
Ecclesia de Forglen	viij s.
Curator [7] ecclesie de Aberden	vj marc.

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[1] Tartie was a property in the parish of Logie in Buchan. (*Collections of Aberdeen and Banff*, i. 361-2.)

[2] Now St. Fergus. (*Ibid.*, i. 419-20.)

[3] Now Peterhead. [4] Now Fraserburgh.

[5] Now in Crimond parish. (*Collections of Aberdeen and Banff*, i. 423-5.)

[6] This is apparently Boyne, an ancient district in Banffshire. It is spelled Buyn in *Reg. Aberdonense*, ii. 53.

[7] *Curator*: priest who exercised the cure of souls. See *Mediaeval Latin Word-List*.

Hospitalis de Torreth [Turriff] [1]	vj marc.
Hospitalis de Rotheuen [Rathven] [2]	iij marc.

Summa xxiij libr. xviij s. preter decimam Episcopi.

Summa omnium summarum computata decima Episcopi ccvij^{xx}xviij libr. xj s. vj d. ob.

Collectio decime in Episcopatu Morauiensi pro primo anno.

Dominus Episcopus pro omnibus bonis suis preter decimam	iiij^{xx} marc.
semitis	xvij marc. ob.
Prior de Ploshardyn	xxvj. marc.
Prior de Wrhard	viij marc.
Decanus Morauiensis	xx marc. ix s. vij d.
Subdecanus Morauiensis	vj marc. v s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Essi	ix s. iiij d.
Vicarius de Dundurgus	j marc.
Ecclesia de Ryni	ij marc. iiij s. viij d.
Vicarius eiusdem	viij s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Alueth [Alvie]	xxiij s.
Vicarius eiusdem	xj s. viiij d.
Thesaurarius	ix marc. v s. iiij d.
Vicarius de Dalcros	xv s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Petyn et de Branthely [Petty and Brachollie]	v libr.
Vicarius de Petyn	xx s.
Vicarius de Branthely	xx s.
Vicarius de Durres [Dores]	xxiiij s.
Ecclesia de Butruthi et de Aberloghor [Botriphnie and Aberlour]	iiij marc. xj s. ij d.
Succentor Morauiensis [3]	vij marc. ij s. iiij d.

[1] The hospital of Turriff was founded by Alexander, Earl of Buchan, Justiciar of Scotland, in 1272. (*Collections, Aberdeen and Banff*, i. 460-1; *Reg. Aberdonen.*, i. 30-34.) It must have been a very recent erection in Bagimond's day.

[2] The lepers' hospital of Rathven was founded by John Bisset about 1224-26. (*Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff*, ii. 142-3.)

[3] The prebend of the sub-chanter was Rafford. (*Fasti*, vi. 426.)

Ecclesia de Rathamurgus et de Dulergussi [Rothiemurchus and Dallarossie]	xxix s. iiij d.
Prebendarius ecclesiarum de Crony et de Limyn [Croy and Lunan] [1]	iiij mar. vij s.
Ecclesia de Spyni	xxxix s. iiij d
Vicarius eiusdem	xvj s.
Ecclesia de Logikenuy [2]	ij marc. iij s. iiij d.
Ecelesia de Inueralian	ij marc. iij s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Abernythi [3]	xvj s.
Ecclesia de Artildol [Arndilly] [4]	j marc. ij s.
Ecclesia de Ewen [5]	ij marc. xij s.
Ecclesia de Deweth [Daviot]	ij marc. v s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Fernewey [Farnua] [6]	xj s. iiij d.
Item pro decima duarum marcarum terre ecclesie de Deweth et dimidie marce de Inuerloghyn et iiij^{or} boum	v s. iiij d.
Vicarius de Deueth	x s. viij d.
Vicarius de Abernithi	xiiij s.
Ecclesia de Glas	xxviij s. ij d.
Ecclesia de Duffus	vj marc.
Vicarius eiusdem	ij marc.
Capella eiusdem	xvj s.
Vicarius de Aberkerchor [Aberchirder] [7]	iij marc. vj s. viij d.
Vicarius de Dike	xxij s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Althir [Altyre]	xiij s. ij d. ob.

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[1] The prebend of Croyn and Lunyn is mentioned in 1226. (*Reg. Morav.*, 72.) The initial letter *C* of Crony might also read *O*.

[2] Logiekenny (Logynkenny) was granted as a prebend in 1239. (*Reg. Morav.*, 35.)

[3] Now united with Kincardine-on-Spey. (*Fasti*, vi. 351.)

[4] Now Boharm ; formerly Ardantullaich.

[5] Perhaps modern Cawdor. 'One is tempted to associate him [St. Ewen] with the church of Barewan, the ancient name of Cawdor parish, Nairnshire.' (Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland :* Non-Scriptural, p. 351.)

[6] Now in parish of Kirkhill. (*Fasti*, vi. 471-2.)

[7] Modern Marnoch. (*Fasti*, vi. 322.)

Prebendarius ecclesiarum de Duthary et de Elchyn [Botarie and Elchies]	v marc. vj s.
Prebendarius ecclesiarum de Kengussi et de Inche	iiij marc. xj s. iiij d.
Prebendarius ecclesiarum de Kynnor et Dunbanan [1]	v marc. viij d.
Vicarius earundem ecclesiarum	j marc.
Vicarius de Inuernis	iiij marc.
Vicarius de Abertarf	xxj s. iiij d.
Executor precentoris defuncti	ix marc. v s. iiij d.
Executor vicarius [*sic*] de Conevay [Conveth]	ix s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Lundechi [Dunlichty]	iij marc.
Vicarius de Wardlar [2]	ix s. iiij d.
Archidiaconus Moraniensis [*sic*]	x marc.
Item de synodalibus	iij s. ix d. ob.
Vicarius de Elgyn	xxj s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Kyncardyn [3]	xvij s. iiij d. ob.
Prebenda de Duppol [Dipple]	xxx s.
Prebenda de Inuerthony [Inverkeithny] [4]	v marc. viij s.
Prebenda de Moy	xvij s. v d. ob.
Ecclesia de Brennagh [Birnie]	ij marc.
Prebendarius de Dothol [Duthil]	iij libr.
Prior de Bello Loco [Beauly]	v marc. x s. viij d.
Vicarius de Abericacy [5]	ix s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Daltros et de Kelrewoc [Dalcross and Kilravock]	xxiiij s.
Vicarius de Ewen	v s. iiij d.

[1] The united parishes of Kinnoir and Dumbennan are now known as Huntly. (*Fasti*, vi. 315.)

[2] Wardlaw; now united with Farnua as parish of Kirkhill. (*Fasti*, vi. 471.)

[3] Kincardine-on-Spey, united with parish of Abernethy. (*Fasti*, vi. 351.)

[4] Inverkeithny appears as a prebend of Moray in the time of Bishop William, *c.* 1153-1161. (*Reg. Morav.*, 91.)

[5] There was an Abercatie in the parish of Monymusk. (*Retours of Aberdeen*, No. 242.) The church of Abirihacyn was granted as a prebend to Moray by Bishop Andrew, 1222-1242. (*Reg. Morav.*, 35.)

Prebenda c. solidorum [1]	x s.
Abbas de Abberrochoc	xj marc. iij s. iiij d.
Garbe ecclesie de Abericacy	iiij s.
Summa	cc libr. xix libr. xiij s. vj d. ob.

Collectio decime in Episcopatu Dunkeldensi pro primo anno.

Ecclesia de Kynlyn [Killin]	v marc. xl d.
Item	v s. ij d.
Ecclesia de Erdonny [Ardeonaig] [2]	viij s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Dull	x marc.
Ecclesia de Weme	xxx s.
Ecclesia de Logynrath [Logierait]	
Ecclesia de Rathmeth [? Rait] [3]	xxx s. vj d. ob.
Ecclesia de Blar [Blair Athol]	xxxij s.
Ecclesia de Scutinar [Strowan]	xx s.
Ecclesia de Kylmeuenet [Kilmaveonaig][4]	j marc.
Ecclesia de Lod [Lude]	ix s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Mulyn	
Ecclesia de Kylmichel [Kirkmichael in Strathardail]	iiij libr. ij s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Lundef [5]	
Ecclesia de Rothgorteuyn [Redgorton]	
Vicarius de Monythi [Moneydie]	viij s.
Ecclesia de Loginbrid [6]	xiiij s.
Ecclesia de Loghantlot [7]	ij marc. et dimid.
Abbas de Insula de Iy [Iona] pro duabus ecclesiis	x marc.

[1] Elgin, vicarage of St. Giles. [2] Ardewnan.

[3] Rait was united to Kilspindie before 1620. Lands of Rothmell belonged to Dunkeld, but there is no mention of a church in *Rentale Dunkeldense* or in Hunter's *Diocese and Presbytery of Dunkeld.*

[4] The form Kilmavenoch appears in *Diocese of Dunkeld*, i. 74. It is now in the parish of Blair-Athol. (*Fasti*, iv. 143.)

[5] Lundeiff, now Kinloch. (*Fasti*, iv. 167.)

[6] Logiebride, now united with Auchtergaven. (*Fasti*, iv. 140.)

[7] Logie-Alloway or Lagganallachy; cf. p. 73.

Vicarius de Strathmigloc	xvj s.
Ecclesia de Lethrith [? Lecropt]	
Ecclesia de Madcrdi [Madderty]	v lib. v s. viij d.
Vicarius de Tobermor [Tibbermore]	viij s.
Vicarius de Melging [Megginch] [1]	xxxij s. ix d. quarta.
Ecclesia de Bendaghtyn [? Bendochy]	
Vicarius de Rocheuen [Ruthven] [2]	xvj s. vij d.
Ecclesia de Ferna [Fern] [3]	xxviij s. viij d. ob.
Ecclesia de Telyn [Tealing]	xxxvij s. ij d. ob. quarta.
Vicarius de Huterus [Auchterhouse]	x s.
Ecclesia de Abcrnith [Abernyte]	ij marc.
Ecclesia de Mighil [Meigle]	ij marc. iiij s.
Ecclesia de Mutresi [Muckersie]	xij s. j d. ob.
Abbas Sancti Columbe [Inchcolm] pro ecclesiis suis	xij lib. vij s.
Ecclesia de Abercrumby [4]	
Ecclesia de Aluith et Lecreth [? Alva and Lecropt] [5]	lij s. iij d. ob.
Vicarius de Prestun	xj s. ix d.
Vicarius de Aberlefdi [Aberlady]	ij marc.
Vicarius de Caramunth [Cramond]	x s. viij d.
Vicarius de Abercorn	xvj s.
Decanus Dunkeldensis	xij lib. iiij s.
Prebenda thesaurarii	vj lib. xvj s. vij d. ob.
Prebenda precentoris	xxxv s.
Cancellarius est collector.	
Prebenda de Retref	ij marc. ij s.
Prebenda dc Ruffel	
Prebenda de Cathbathac [Caputh] [6]	xx s.
Prebenda dc Fyngurch [Fongorth] [7]	iiij marc.

[1] Now in parish of Errol. See L. Melville, *Errol: its Legends, Lands and People.* [2] See *Rentale Dunkeldense*, 17.

[3] Now in presbytery of Brechin.

[4] Abercrombie is entered in St. Andrews diocese. It does not appear again under Dunkeld, and here no payment is recorded.

[5] Alva and Lecropt are referred to in conjunction in the *Cartulary of Cambuskenneth* in 1394 (pp. 27-8).

[6] See Watson, *Celtic Place-Names.*

[7] In barony of Dunkeld. (*Retours, Perth*, No. 172.)

Prebenda de Craghyn [Craigie]	viij s. viij d.
Prebenda de Inchemegranoc [1]	j marc.
Prebenda de Obeney [2]	xij s.
Prebenda de Monychi [Moneydie]	xx s.
Prebenda de Cref	lvij s. ix d.
Prebenda de Melmorech [Menmuir] [3]	lxvij s. viij d.
Communa Canonicorum	vj lib. vj s. viij d.
Dominus Episcopus	c marc.
Summa totalis	clxxij lib. xix s. vj d. ob.

Collectio decime in Episcopatu Rossensi pro primo anno.

Dominus Rex hoc anno confiscauit et cepit omnia bona episcopatus sede vacante vna cum decimis ecclesiarum de Tarbere et de Nigge mense episcopali pertinentibus nichil est solutum.

Abbas de Nova Fernia [Fearn] in Rossia cum decima Vicarii de Tarbere [Tarbat]	vij marc.
Prior et conventus de Bello Loco [Beauly]	v marc.
Ecclesia de Kylmor Australi et Ardrosser [Kilmuir Wester and Ardersier]	ij marc. et dimid.
Cancellarius	iiij marc.
Thesaurarius	iiij marc. iiij s. ij d.
pro ecclesiis de Dunthard [4] et de Logynbrid	
Ecclesia de Thany et de Ederthayn [Tain and Edderton]	ij marc.

[1] Inchmagrannoch, now Laggan-Allochie in parish of Little Dunkeld. (*Fasti*, iv. 158.)

[2] Obeney or Obny, now in Auchtergaven parish, near Stanley, was the prebend of the subdean. (*Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome*, 81; Scot. Hist. Soc.)

[3] See Johnston's *Place-Names of Scotland* for the variants of this name.

[4] Misreading for Urchard. Urquhart was the prebend of the Treasurer, and was conjoined with Logie-Wester (Logiebride) from an early date. (*Orig. Par. Scot.* II., Part ii. 548).

Ecclesia de Innerasfran et de Loghbren [Lochbroom]	iij marc. et dimid. et xl d.
Ecclesia de Lemmelare [Lemlair]	ij marc. v s.
Ecclesia de Logynmethet [Logie Easter]	xix s.
Ecclesia de Alnesse	xx s.
Ecclesia de Cultudyn [Cullicudden] [1]	xviij s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Conteyne [Contin]	xxj s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Fotherdyn [Fodderty] et de Ederdouer	v marc.
Ecclesia de Tarucdal [Tarradale] [2]	x s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Keltire [Kiltearn]	xx s.
Ecclesia de Kelmormethet [Kilmuir Easter]	xx s.
Ecclesia de Neuoth et de Roskeuene [Newnakle and Rosskeen]	xxxij s.
Ecclesia de Dingcnale [Dingwall]	xxiiij s.
Ecclesia de Anagh [Avoch] est Abbatis de Kynlos	nichil.
Ecclesia de Kyncardyn	xxj s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Loghcarn [Lochcarron]	dimid. marc.
Ecclesia de Gerloth [Gairloch]	dimid. marc.
Ecclesia de Logalche [Lochalsh]	xxij s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Ablecrosse [Applecross]	viij s.
Vicarius de Anagh [Avoch]	j marc.
Vicarius de Fotherchyn [Fodderty]	viij s.
Vicarius de Neuoth [Newnakle]	xj s. iiij d.
Vicarius de Logynbrid [Logie Wester]	vj s. viij d.
Vicarius de Tayn	x s. viij d.
Vicarius de Nigge	x s. viij d.
Vicarius de Kelmormethet [Kilmuir Easter]	v s. iiij d.
Vicarius de Vthercham [? Edderton]	vj s. viij d.
Vicarius de Roskeuen [Rosskeen]	vj s.
Vicarius de Kylmor Australi [Kilmuir Wester]	x s.
Vicarius de Sicthye iuratus [Suddy]	xij d.

[1] Now united with Resolis. (*Fasti*, vii. 18.)

[2] Also called Kilchrist. United with Urray. (*Fasti*, vii. 48.)

Vicarius de Alenesse	xx s.
Vicarius de Urchard [Urquhart]	iiij s.
Vicarius de Lemnelar [Lemlair]	xij s.
Vicarius de Logymnechet [Logie Easter]	xvij s. iiij d.
Vicarius de Alter [1]	nichil quia pauper.
Vicarius de Ederdouer	computatus cum personatu.
Vicarius de Culycudyn	similiter.
Summa	xliiij libr. ij s. x d.

Collectio decime in Episcopatu Cathanie pro primo anno.

De bonis domini Episcopi receptis	xj libr. ij s. ix d. ob.
Prebenda Decani [2]	iij libr. vj s. viij d. ob.
Prebenda Cantoris [3]	l s.
Prebenda Thesaurarii [4]	l s. j d. ob.
Prebenda Cancellarii	iij libr. ix s. j d. ob.
Prebenda de Coldulman [Kildonan]	xxx s. ij d.
Prebenda de Olric [Olrig]	ij marc.
Prebenda de Dunost [Dunnet]	xxxiij s. iiij d.
Prebenda de Cranesby [Canisbay]	xl s.
Prebenda de Ascend [Assynt]	v s. iiij d.
Vicarius de Haukyrc [Halkirk]	xiiij s. ij d. ob.
Vicarius de Turishau [Thurso]	xxvj s. vij d.
Capella de Haludal [Helmsdale]	ix s. iiij d.
Vicarius de Lagheryn [Latheron]	xxvij s. x d.
Vicarius de Ra [Reay]	ix s. iij d. ob.
Vicarius dc Culmaliun [Kilmalie] [5]	xv s. x d.
De pensione H. de Notingham [6]	xiij s. iiij d.

[1] Alter, near Beauly, belonged to the Priory of Beauly. (*Origines Par. Scot.* II., Part ii. 509.) It was probably given by the husband of Cecilia Bisset, who added her third of the land after 1280. (See *Charters of Priory of Beauly*, in *Records of Kinloss*, 93-4.)

[2] This was Clyne. (*Fasti*, vii. 79.)

[3] Creich. (*Ibid.*, 81.) [4] Lairg. (*Ibid.*, 92.)

[5] Now Golspie. (*Ibid.*, 86.)

[6] Master Henry de Nottingham was an agent of the Dean and Chapter of Caithness to the Pope in 1273 and 1279. (*Cal. of Papal Registers*, i. 446, 457.)

De pensione domini Eugenii	iiij s.
De ecclesia de Durnes	xiiij s. viij d.
Vicarius domini Episcopi nichil soluit de decimis	vij marc.
Summa	xxxvj libr. ix s. iiij d.

Collectio decime in Episcopatu Brekynensi pro primo anno.

Ecclesia de Stratheth [Strachan] Archidiaconi [1]	iij marc.
Ecclesia de Glenberuyn [Glenbervie] Thesaurarii	v marc. xij s.
Vicarius de Panbrid	j marc.
Vicarius de Monros [Montrose]	xx s.
Ecclesia de Struchaerat [Strácathro] [2] Precentoris	iij marc. ij s. ij d. ob.
Vicarius de Kateryn [Catterline]	j marc.
Vicarius de Dunde	ij marc. v s. iiij d.
Vicarius de Gingondrom [Kingoldrum]	j marc. ij s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Kilmor [3]	ix s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Neutuer [Navar] [4]	xij s.
Cancellarius	iij s.
Ecclesia de Guchery [Guthrie]	x s.
Ecclesia de Glinistra [? Glenesk] [5]	iij marc.
Vicarius de Monwcky [Monikie]	xx s.
Ecclesia de Fotheuen [Finaven] [6]	j marc.
Ecclesia de Botherker [? Buttergill] [7] Abbas de Alberrothoc [Arbroath]	xxiiij marc.

[1] Strachan, in the modern presbytery of Kincardine O'Neil. (*Fasti*, vi. 111 ; *Reg. Brechin.*, 250.)

[2] See Warden, *Angus*, v. 101.

[3] Kilmore, modern Kellimore, now united with parish of Brechin. (*Fasti*, v. 374 ; cf. *Reg. Brech.*, App., 296.)

[4] Now united with Lethnot.

[5] Glenesk is now the parish of Lochlee. (See Warden, *Angus*, v. 221-3.) In 1384 Lochlee appears as a chapel in Glenesk. (*Reg. Brech.*, 22.)

[6] Now Oathlaw. (*Fasti*, v. 300.)

[7] Buttergill church, in the lordship of Brechin, stood about 200 yards west of the bridge of Brechin. (Jervis, *Angus and Mearns*, 471.)

Vicarius de Maricon [Maryton]	iij s.
Johannes Wichard pro prebenda sua	x s. v d.
Magister S. Walais	ij libr.
Magister I. Scot	iij marc. et dimid. de Cortaghi[Cortachy].
Adam de Brekyn pro se	ij libr. viij s.
Vicarius de Brekyn	xx s.
Abbas de Lundors	iiij libr. xiij s. iij d.
Symon de Forfare	dimid. marc.
Ecclesia de Glenilif [Glenisla]	xxij s. viij d.
Summa	xlviij libr. xiij s. x d. ob.

Episcopatus Ergadiensis

Summa decime collecte in Episcopatu Ergadiensi pro primo anno . xxxiiij lib. xij s.

Collectio decime in Episcopatu Dumblanensi pro primo anno.

Abbas de Insula Missarum [Inchaffray]	xxiiij libr. xiij s. iij d. qua.
Ecclesia de Abernychi [Abernethy] pro Abbate de Alberrothoc	vj marc. iiij s.
De vicario eiusdem	ij marc.
Abbas de Lundors	v libr. viij d.
Prior de Insula Sancti Calmoth [Inchmahome]	vj lib. xiij s. j d. ob.
Abbas de Cambuskynel [Cambuskenneth]	x lib. viij s. v d. ob.
De prioratu de Abernythi [1]	xxxiij s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Struan [Strowan] [2]	iij marc.
Ecclesia de Buthfuder [Balquhidder]	xviij s.
Vicarius de Kylmadoc	ij marc.
Vicarius de Aberothenyn [Aberuthven] [3]	vij s.

[1] A Celtic monastery of Abernethy was converted into an Augustinian house about 1273. (Goodall, *Scotichronicon*, ii. 120 ; cf. Lawrie, *Early Scot. Charters*, 245.)

[2] Now in Monzievaird parish. (*Fasti*, iv. 287.)

[3] Now united with Auchterarder.

Vicarius de Ffioles [Fowlis] [1]	xvij s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Glendelan [? Glendevon]	xiiij s. vj d. ob.
Ecclesia de Muthuthe [Muthill]	xxviij s. viij d.
Clemens Capellanus de Keldera sua [2]	ij s.
Vicarius de Strughet [Strageich] [3]	ij marc. xvj d.
Vicarius de Dunyn [Dunning]	xij s.
Vicarius de Druny [Dron]	xl d. Ecclesia xvj s.
De Santo Maghot [Kilmachog] [4]	xx s.
Ecclesia de Duppeli [Dupplin]	nichil.
Ecclesia de Fossenwy [Fossoway]	xxxiiij s. iij d.
Ecclesia de Tullibothnyn [Tullibody]	nichil quia pauper.
Vicarius de Hughterardur [Auchterarder]	xviij s.
Ecclesia de Tullalwy [Tulliallan]	iij d.
De Garbis de Logyn [Logie]	xlij s. viij d.
Vicarius de Logyn	ij marc.
De ecclesia de Kyppen	iij marc.
Ecclesia de Cumery [Comrie]	xxiiij s.
Ecclesia de Aberful [Aberfoyle]	xij s. iij d.
Ecclesia de Killebrid [5]	xviij s. viij d. ob.
Vicarius de Gascrist [Trinity Gask] [6]	v s.
De Archidiacono	lv s. ix d.
De Thesaurario	xx s.
De prebenda Magistri R. de Striuelyn	xxxij d.
De prebenda Domini J. de Clacmana [Clackmannan]	xxxij d.
Dominus Episcopus pro decima sua	xl marc.
Summa	cviij libr. ix s. ij d. ob. qua.

Explicit primus annus.

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[1] Foulis Wester, or Foulis in Strathearn. (*Fasti*, iv. 271.)

[2] Could this possibly be Kildarie or Kildavie, whose ruins were visible near the shore of the island of Inchcalleoch in Loch Lomond in 1724? (See Macfarlane's *Geographical Collections*, i. 344; *The Lennox*, i. 50.) But Inchcalleoch was in Glasgow diocese before the fifteenth century.

[3] Strageich, or Strogeich; now Blackford parish. (*Fasti*, iv. 261.)

[4] Kilmachog, or Kilmahog, is now in parish of Callander. (*Ibid.*, 339.)

[5] Kilbride, now united with Dunblane. (*Fasti*, iv. 342.)

[6] See *Inchaffray Charters*, xli.

Receptio decime Terre Sancte in Archidiaconatu Londonie Episcopatus Sancti Andree pro terminis Nativitatis Domini anno etc. lxxv° et Beati Johannis Baptiste anno etc. lxxvj° videlicet pro secundo anno solutio decime Terre Sancte.

Decanatus de Lynlithqu

Vicarius de Strinlin	xxx s.
Ecclesie [*sic*] de Halis	j marc.
Vicarius de Leswad	j marc.
Vicarius de Kyrkecon [Kirkton] [1]	xlvj s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Malenil [Melville] [2]	vj s. viij d.
Vicarius Sancti Cuthberti sub castro	vj s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Lyston	vj marc.
Vicarius Sancti Egidii de Edenburg	x s.
Abbas de Cambuskinel pro omnibus bonis suis que habet in Archidiaconatu Laodonensi	vij libr. xvj s. x d.
Vicarius de Coingeston [Duddingston] [3]	j marc.
Item	j marc.
Ecclesia de Strabrok	xxxij s. vj d.
Ecclesia de Keldelek [Kinleith]	v marc.
Vicarius de Caledon Cler [East Calder] pro portione sua	iiij s.
Vicarius de Wackec [Bathgate]	viij s.
Vicarius de Levingeston	vj s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Goger	viij s.
Vicarius de Dunmanyn [Dalmeny]	vj s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Dunmanyn	xlij s.
Ecclesia de Cotpen	ij marc.
Ecclesia de Clistmathyn [Ecclesmachan]	j marc.

[1] Now St. Ninian's. It belonged to Cambuskenneth (*Cartulary of Cambuskenneth*, xxiv, and index ; cf. *Reg. de Dunfer.*, 128).

[2] Now partly in parish of Lasswade, partly in Dalkeith.

[3] It pays the same amount as Doddingeston in the first account. The church of Duddingston is classed in the deanery of Linlithgow in the later copies of the so-called Bagimond's Roll. (*Reg. Prioratus Sancti Andree*, 28 ; *Reg. de Dunfer.*, 203.)

Vicarius de Varia Capella [Falkirk]	j marc.
Ecclesia de Slefmanyn [Slamannan]	v s. ij d.
Ecclesia de Conueth	xl s.
Dominus Episcopus Sancti Andree pro omnibus bonis suis	c libr.
Ecclesia de Keldcleth [Kinleith]	v marc.
Ecclesia de Lyston	vj marc.
Ecclesia de Caldorcler	iiij s.
Ecclesia de Egistmawyn [Eccles-machan]	j marc.
Ecclesia de Nencon [Newton]	xx s.
Vicarius Sancti Egidii de Edenburg	x s.
Vicarius de Leswad	j marc.
Ecclesia de Malenil [Melville]	vj s. viij d.
Vicarius de Varia Capella	xx s.
Ecclesia de Rachen [Ratho]	iiij lib.
Ecclesia de Penchland [? Pencaitland]	x s. viij d.
Vicarius de Strinelyn	xxx s.
Ecclesia de Goger	viij s.
Vicarius de Kyrketen [Kirkton]	xl s.
Vicarius Sancti Cuthberti sub Castro	vj s. viij d.
Vicarius de Lynlichtu	xxj s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Slemanan	v s.
Ecclesia de Dommanyn	xlix s. ij d. ob.
Vicarius de Halis	j marc.
Ecclesia de Strabrok	x s. x d.
Vicarius de Hert [Airth]	v s. iiij d.
Abbas Sancte Crucis de Edenburg	lx libr. iiij d. ob.
Ecclesia de Opsechinton [Upsetling-ton] [1]	xxx s.
Ecclesia de Ponlewrnd [Polwarth]	xxj s. iiij d.
Vicarius de Backec [Bathgate]	viij s.
Vicarius de Leningeston [Livingston]	vj s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Hereyec [Heriot]	xxvj s. iiij d.
Prior Sancti Andrec	x libr. ix s. iiij d. ob.
Fratres dc Hinston [Hutton]	xl s.
Ecclesia de Lastalric	xl s.

[1] Now in parish of Ladykirk.

Abbas de Passelay	viij marc. viij s. iiij d.
Vicarius de Dumanyn	dimid. marc.
Ecclesia de Donbar	vij lib. xvj s. x d.per augmentum.

Decanatus de Hadingcon

Executor domini Johannis de Adhamstok	xl s.
Vicarius de Boltun	dimid. marc.
Vicarius de Muskiburg	dimid. marc.
Ecclesia de Adham [Aldhame]	vj s.
Vicarius de Grauernenthe [Tranent]	xiiij s.
Ecclesia de Lincon [Linton]	iiij lib.
Ecclesia de Heryeth [Heriot]	xxv s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Cunbar et de Pentacland[1]	vij lib. xiij s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Kech Margcal [Keith Marischal]	j marc.
Vicarius de Kechundeby [Keith Humbie]	vj s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Penteland [?Pencaitland]	x s. viij d.
Prior Sancti Andree	x libr. ix s. iiij d. ob.
Ecclesia de Creccon [Crichton]	xx s.
Ecclesia de Clerkincon[2]	vj s. vj d.
Ecclesia de Bothans	xl s.
Vicarius de Norberwyc	j marc.
Vicarius de Hadinton	j marc.
Ecclesia de Seccon [Seton]	j marc.
Vicarius Logohomr [Lochorwart]	vj s. viij d.
Frater domus de Soltre[3]	xxxiij s. iiij d. pro bonis suis in Episcopatu Sancti Andree.
Ecclesia de Morbam [Morham]	xvj s.
Ecclesia de Timingham	lx s.

[1] Probably Dunbar and Pinkerton. See above, p. 33 and *n.*

[2] Clerkington, now in Temple parish.

[3] The house of Soltre or Soutra was founded by Malcolm IV. about 1164 for the hospitality of travellers and the nuns of Manuel. (See Lawrie, *Annals of the reigns of Malcolm and William*, p. 88.)

Vicarius de Muskelburg	vj s. viij d. de titulo (*sic*) Sancti Johannis.
Vicarius de Bolton	vj s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Lyncon	iiij lib.
Vicarius de Hadington	j marc.
Ecclesia de Halaham [Aldhame]	v s. viij d.
Vicarius de Craneston	j marc. pro ij terminis.
Ecclesia de Cokespen	ij marc.
Vicarius de Tranernent	x s.
Frater Domus de Solcre	xxxiij s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Seccon	j marc.
Ecclesia de Dunbar et de Pentathat	xj marc. vj s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Bochans	xl s.
Vicarius de Norberwyc	j marc.
Ecclesia de Morham	xvj s.
Ecclesia de Timingeham	lx s.
Vicarius de Goly [Gullane]	xviij s. pro ij terminis.
Fratres de Sancto Germano [1]	xl s.
Vicarius de Kechundilby [Keith Humbie]	dimid. marc.
Ecclesia de Kech Marescal	j marc.
Vicarius de Loghorwyr [Lochorwart]	dimid. marc.
Ecclesia de Crecton	xx s.
Ecclesia de Crekinton	dimid. marc.
Ecclesia de Ormiston	xx s.

Decanatus de Merskis

Procurator ecclesie de Fueldon	ij marc.
Ecclesia de Mortington	ij marc.
Vicarius de Berwyc	ij marc.
Vicarius de Lechardewend [Legerwood]	xvj s. viij d.
Vicarius de Langton	x s.
Vicarius de Swynton	dimid. marc.
Vicarius de Scichill [Stitchill]	dimid. marc.

[1] Much obscurity surrounds the origin and history of the house of St. Germains. (See *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, ad indices.*)

Vicarius de Fongu [Fogo]	x s.
Vicarius de Grenlan [Greenlaw]	x s. viij d.
Vicarius dc Erchildon [Earlston]	j marc.
Vicarius de Edercham [Edrom]	dimid. marc.
Ecclesia de Elum [Ellem]	ij marc.
Ecclesia de Hylton	xv s.
Vicarius de Fiswent [Fishwick]	vj s. viij d.
Fratres ecclesie Sancte Trinitatis de Berwyk	iij marc.
Vicarius de Childechirche [Channelkirk]	dimid. marc.
Vicarius de Aldecamburg [Aldcambus]	viij s.
Vicarius de Wedale [Stow]	xl s.

De termino Nativitatis Domini.

Vicarius de Ersledun	j marc.
Vicarius de Ederham	dimid. marc.
Ecclesia de Fenldeim [Foulden]	ij marc.
Vicarius de Childewyrth [Channelkirk]	dimid. marc.
Ecclesia de Hoton [Hutton]	iij marc. pro ij terminis.
Vicarius de Langton	x s.
Ecclesia de Hilton	xv s.
Ecclesia de Morthinton	ij marc.
Ecclesia de Ellum	ij marc.
Vicarius de Fiswic	dimid. marc.
Vicarius de Swyncon	dimid. marc.
Vicarius de Berwyk	ij marc.
Vicarius de Logardewod	xvj s.
Vicarius de Noycherchin [Nenthorn]	j marc. pro ij terminis.
Vicarius de Stichill	dimid. marc.
Vicarius de Wldecambus	iiij s.
Vicarius de Crenlan [Greenlaw]	x s. viij d.
Vicarius de Fongu [Fogo]	x s.
Vicarius de Ederham [1]	xl s. pro toto.

[1] This entry may be a misreading of Edenham.

Ecclesia de Withosine [Whitsome]	v marc. vj s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Chirnesid	vj marc. vj s. viij d.

Arreragia primi anni.

Fratres Sancte Trinitatis de Berwyo (*sic*)	vj marc.
Ecclesia de Ponlewrd [Polwarth]	xxj s. iiij d.
Fratres de Huteston	iiij marc.
Vicarius de Wedchale [1]	ij marc.
Ecclesia de Eachen [?Ayton] [2]	v lib. xiij s. vij d.
Summa istius archidiaconatus	ccciiij^{xx} libr. iiij libr. iij s. ob.

Receptio decime Terre Sancte in Archidiaconatu Sancti Andree pro duobus terminis secundi anni.

Vicarius de Inuerkechin	xvj s. viij d.
Item	xx s. pro arreragio.
Item pro pena quam incurrit eo quod non soluit plenam decimam	xx s.
Vicarius de Forgrund in Fiff [Forgan]	xx s.
Executores testamenti quondam W. rectoris de Kylgonery [Kilgour]	xxiiij s.
Item	xxiiij s.
Ecclesia de Huctermukedy [Auchtermuchty]	xxx s.
Item tantumdem.	
Ecclesia de Thawcnteteys [Tannadice]	l s.
Item per augmentum	xiiij s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Aurres [Durris]	xiij s. iiij d.
Item	xiij s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Dernesy [Dairsie]	xxx s.
Item	xxx s. pro secundo termino.

[1] Modern Stow.

[2] Ayton was originally written Eytun, and was an ancient church site. (See *Caledonia*, iii. 352.)

Ecclesia de Kenhacghy [? Kennoway]	viij s.
Item	viij s. pro secundo termino.
Vicarius de Dunbulg [Dunbog]	vj s. viij d.
Item tantumdem.	
Vicarius de Loscrist [Lathrisk]	viij s.
Item	viij s.
Ecclesia de Kynspinedi [Kilspindie]	xxvj s. viij d.
Item tantumdem.	
Vicarius de Marking [? Markinch] [1]	xj s. viij d.
Item	xij s. pro secundo termino.
Vicarius de Eghisgyrg [Ecclesgreig]	xj s.
Item	xj s.
Magister Fontis Scocie [Scotland-well]	xviij s.
Item	ij marc.
Vicarius de Cuipyr	xj s. iiij d.
Item tantumdem.	
Vicarius de Forgrund in Gordyn [Longforgan in Gowrie]	x s.
Ecclesia de Crecch	xiij s. iiij d.
Item tantumdem.	
Vicarius de Cles [Cleish]	x s. pro ij terminis.
Ecclesia de Fotbir	xl s.
Item tantumdem.	
Ecclesia de Kynros	vj marc. et dimid.
Item tantumdem.	
Ecclesia de Logiminrath [Logie-murdoch]	j marc.
Item tantumdem.	
Vicarius de Lonthers [Leuchars]	xxvj s. viij d.
Item tantumdem.	

[1] Cf. Mathing [? Meathie] above, p. 39. As both Mathing and Marking are vicarages, and as Mathing appears only in the first year's accounts and Marking only in the second year, the references may be to the same place—either Meathie or Markinch. On the other hand, the difference in assessment makes it difficult to decide that both payments refer to the same church.

Vicarius de Kyrkaldi	xiij s. iiij d.
Item tantumdem.	
Ecclesia de Ferthevihot [Forteviot]	xxvj s. viij d.
Item	xxiij s. pro decima anni preteriti.
Item	xxxiij s. pro ij termino.
Vicarius de Sconyn [Scoonie]	vj s. viij d.
Vicarius de Kynlassy	dimid. marc.
Ecclesia de Dysard	xv s. viij d.
Item tantumdem.	
Ecclesia de Torri	v s.
Ecclesia de Kynelf [? Kinneil]	xl s.
Item	xxxviij s. viij d. pro secundo termino.
Vicarius de Karneby [Carnbee]	x s.
Vicarius de Largath [Largo]	j marc.
Item	j marc.
Ecclesia de Dunenath et de Quilt [Dunino and Cults]	xxiiij s.
Item tantumdem	
Ecclesia de Methkil	v s.
Item	iiij s.
Ecclesia de Munimel et de Blar	lxiiij s.
Vicarius de Karal	iiij marc. pro ij terminis.
Vicarius de Inuerlunan [1]	x s. tam pro arreragio quam pro termino Nativitatis.
Vicarius de Clatmanan	xij s.
Item	xij s.
Ecclesia de Essi	xviij s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Fechcrkern et de Inchebrioc [Inchbrayock]	lx s. xix d.
Ecclesia de Blar	ij marc.
Ecclesia de Munimel	vj marc.
Archidiaconus Sancti Andree	v marc. de uno termino.

[1] Now Lunan.

De pensione Magistri H. Pikard [1]	x s. viij d.
Vicarius [de] Abirheloth [Arbirlot]	xvj s. pro duobus terminis.
Vicarius de Cullassy	xx s.
Vicarius de Kyrmur	xxix s. iiij d. pro duobus terminis.
Vicarius de Clammes	xxxij s. iij d. ob. pro duobus terminis.
Ecclesia de Cametays [? Tannadice]	l s. pro termino Beati Johannis.
Ecclesia de Lundy	xxxiij s. iiij d. pro duobus terminis.
Vicarius de Trinchegem Comitis [2] [Earl's Stradichty]	vj s. viij d. pro ij terminis.
Vicarius de Neutil	xij s. de ij terminis.
Vicarius de Fimerkychelechyr [Inverkeilor]	x s. viij d. pro duobus annis.
Vicarius de Munifoch	xiij s. iiij d. de duobus annis.
Vicarius de Muremiysi [Murroes] [3]	iiij s. de duobus annis.
Ecclesia de Cullas [Collace]	xxxiiij s. viij d. pro ij terminis.
Ecclesia de Luntrechyn	xvj s. de duobus terminis.
Ecclesia de Benum et de Abertriuchenoch [Benholme and Aberlethnot]	x m. xij s. xj d. ob.

[1] This is probably "Master Hugh called 'Piccard,' doctor of canon law, papal subdeacon, canon of Abbeville," who, apparently at Paris, received a papal mandate in 1257 'to reinstate the abbot of Clairvaux and defend him in the possession of his abbey and its rights.' (*C.P.R.*, i. 342.)

[2] Omitted in Theiner.

[3] Murroes or Muirhouse; cf. Morens, above, p. 38. The payment in both cases is four shillings, although here the sum of four shillings is said to represent the amount for two years. Cf. Monifieth, pp. 38, 63.

Ecclesia de Abercrimsby et de Ardengrost [Abercrombie and Arngask] — ij m. xij d. de ij terminis.

Ecclesia de Nendosk [Newdosk] — xxj s. iij d. ob. de ij terminis.

Dominus Andreas de Auand — ij marc. xij d. per augmentum.

Ecclesia de Kynnif — iiij marc. pro secundo anno.

Ecclesia de Coneuech — iiij marc. pro secundo anno.

Ecclesia de Benum et Abbuchenocht — vij s. ob.

Vicarius de Funerkethyn [Inverkeithing] — xvj s. viij d.

Ecclesia de Fetheressagh [Fetteresso] — xl s. pro duobus annis.

Ecclesia de Magnakingorn [Kinghorn] — iiij libr. xiij s. ij d. pro duobus annis.

Archidiaconus Sancti Andree — v marc pro termino Sancti Johannis.

Ecclesia de Flosk — xxxiij s. et iiij d.

Ecclesia de Michard [Muckhart] — xiij s. iiij d.

Ecclesia de Kilmannin — iiij marc. xxiij d. ob.

Abbas de Abbrochoc — xxiij libr. vj s. viij d. pro termino Nativitatis.

Item xxiij libr. vj s. viij d. pro termino Sancti Johannis.

Prior Sancti Andree — lx lib. vij s. x d. pro duobus terminis.

Abbas de Dunfermelin — xlv libr. ix s. vj d. pro bonis suis que habent [*sic*] in Archidiaconatu Laodonensi et Sancti Andree de primo termino.

Item l libr. xv s. iiij d. ob. de secundo termino.

Abbas de Lundors — viij libr. xvj s. xj d. ob. pro ij terminis.

Abbas de Kambusk[inel] — xlviij s. pro primo anno integro et tertio [*sic*] Nativitatis Domini secundi anni.

Item xxxviij s. pro termino Sancti Johannis.

Prior de Dustinot [Restennct]	x marc. xij s. viij d. de ij terminis.
Summa totalis	ccc libr. lj libr. vij s.
Item de Abbate de Schona	xl libr.
De Magistro A. de Malcaruestona	xx libr.
Item de Coldingebam [*sic*]	lvij libr. xviij s. j d. ob.
Item de Kelcon	liij libr. vj s. viij d.
De Driburg	xxxiij libr. vj s. viijd.

Et memorandum quod decima de Abberbrothoc predicta bis conputatur in computo Magistri B. facto domino Cardinali et hoc per errorem scribentis.

Glasguensis.—Summa totius collectionis decime in Episcopatu Glasguensi pro secundo anno ccc libr. lxxvij libr. viij s. vj d. ob. quarta.
Item xj libr. xv s. v d. ob.
Item de decima Episcopi iiij^{xx} libr.

Solutio decime Terre Sancte in Episcopatu Abirdonensi pro duobus terminis secundi anni.

Decanatus de Marre

Ecclesia de Obein [Aboyne]	iiij marc.
Vicarius eiusdem loci	xvj s.
Ecclesia de Innernogthy [Invernochtie]	xl s.
Vicarius de Cule	vj s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Colecoyn [Colstone]	ij marc. et dimid.
Vicarius de Kinbechoc	ix s. iiij d.
Vicarius de Syganech [Migvie]	dimid. marc.
Prior Sancti Andree pro bonis suis in Episcopatu predicto	iiij libr. viij s. iij d.
Vicarius de Kynemune [Kinmuck] [1]	v s. iiij d. pro uno termino.
Item	v s. iiij d.

[1] Kinmuck ; cf. above, p. 41.

Ecclesia de Grethy [Crathie]	v s. pro uno termino.
Item	v s.
Vicarius de Kege	xxij s. viij d.
Item de eodem pro arreragio primi anni	xxxij d.
Hospitalis de Kinkardin Onel	xiiij marc.
Ecclesia de Thuluth [Tullich]	xx s.
Vicarius de Afford [Alford]	xl d. pro uno termino.
Item	xl d.
Vicarius de Heyth [Echt]	xxj s. iiij d.
Vicarius de Loghel	viij s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Brass [Birse]	xxxiij s. iiij d. tam pro ecclesia quam pro aqua pro uno termino.
Item	ij marc vj s. viij d. pro secundo termino.
Ecclesia de Kyndromy	xxxiij s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Morthelac [Mortlach]	lxvj s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Danandore [? Auchindoir]	xlviij s.
Vicarius de Taruelan [Tarland]	j marc.
Pensio Magistri David in ecclesia de Migmar	viij s. viij d.

Decanatus de Buthen [1]

Ecclesia de Alueth [Alvah]	vj marc.
Vicarius de Tiry pro tota ecclesia	x s.
Hospitalis de Surreth [Turriff]	vj marc.
Vicarius de Banf	xx s.
Item propter consciencium	xl d.
Curator ecclesia [*sic*] de Abden [*sic*]	vj marc.
Ecclesia de Forglen	viiij s.
Hospitalis de Rethan [Rathven]	xl s.
Ecclesia de Kyneddeard	iiij marc.
Ecclesia de Forthes [Fordyce]	viij marc.

Decanatus de Garmath [Garioch]

Ecclesia parochialis de Munimose	v marc. iiij s.
Vicarius de Pramcth [Premnay]	x s.

[1] Boyne; see note 6, p. 43.

Vicarius de Durnagh [Durno]	ij marc. xl d.
Vicarius de Butheleny [Bethelnie]	x s.
Vicarius de Forg	xx s.
Vicarius de Lesselyn [Leslic]	x s.
Abbas de Lundors	xxiij lib. iij s. viij d.
Vicarius de Syntref [Fintray]	xvij s. iiij d.
Vicarius de Inuerury	xxiiij s.
Vicarius de Bourdi [Bourtie]	viij s. viij d.
Vicarius de Kynalkemund [Kennethmont]	j marc.
Vicarius de Rathmuriel	dimid. marc.
Vicarius de Culsamuel [Culsalmond]	x s.
Ecclesia de Ouen [Oyne]	xl s.
Vicarius de Insula [Insch]	xvij s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Tulynestyn	xxxiij s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Hugterlis [Auchterless]	viij marc.
Ecclesia de Damoch [Dalmayock]	vj marc.
Prior de Monimusc	x marc.
Ecclesia de Kynkel	xij marc.
Ecclesia de Raan	viij marc.

Decanatus de Abden [*sic*]

Vicarius de Culter	j marc.
Fratres Sancte Trinitatis	xvj s.
Ecclesia de Benchorideneueth [Banchory-Devenick]	iiij marc.
Ecclesia de Benchoritarny [Banchory-Ternan]	xv s. viij d.
Decanus Aberdonensis	viij lib.
Communa Canonicorum	ij marc. xxxij d.

Decanatus de Buthan [Buchan]

Vicarius de Fynin [Fyvie]	xl s.
Vicarius de Lungle [Longley]	xxv s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Retref [Rattray]	xl s.
Ecclesia de Logynathi [1]	xl s.

[1] Logie-Buchan ; see above, p. 43.

Ecclesia de Inuerugi Petri [Peterugie][1]	xl s.
Ecclesia de Elon	xj marc.
Vicarius	vj marc.
Vicarius de Toruais [Tarves]	xl s.
Ecclesia de Foucrne [Foveran]	viij marc.
Ecclesia dc Rathi [Rathen]	iiij marc. v s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Slanes	ij marc.
G. de Saulyn pro portione quam habet in ecclesia de Crudan	vj s. viij d.
Item pro portione W. Cumyn in eadem ecclesia	iiij marc.
Eeclesia de Lommeth [Lonmay]	xxiiij s.
Ecclesia de Filorth	xxxij s.
Dominus Episeopus	c marc.
Abbas de Abberbrothoc	xxvj lib. xiij s. iiij d.

Episcopatus Ergadiensis

Summa decime colleete in Episcopatu Ergadiensi pro secundo anno xxxiiij lib. xij s. j d. ob.

Episcopatus Rossensis

[*No entries*]

Collectio decime Terre Sancte in Episcopatu Cathanensi pro seeundo anno.

Dominus Episeopus soluit de bonis suis et de eeclesia de Durnes	xvij lib. vj s. vj d.
De bonis eiusdem in Sutherland	ij lib. xj s. vij d.
Vicarius de Laterne [Latheron]	xxxij s.
De pensione Magistri H. de Notingham	j mare.
Prebenda de Cananby [Canisbay]	xxxij s.
Viearius de Thorsan [Thurso]	ij marc.
Capella de Hclwcdale [Helmsdale]	ix s. iiij d.
Vicarius de Ra [Reay]	ix s. iiij d.
Vicarius de Haukyre [Halkirk]	xiij s. ix d.

[1] See above, p. 43.

De pensione domini Eugenii	ij s.
Vicarius de Ascend [Assynt]	v s. iiij d.
Cancellarius	lxiij s. iij d.
Decanus Cathanensis	ij marc. iiij s. v d. ob. pro uno termino.
Item pro secundo termino	xxxviij s. ix d. ob.
Prebenda de Olric [Olrig]	ij marc.
De duabus partibus ecclesie de Scynand [Skinnet] [1]	xviij s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Dunost [Dunnet]	ij marc.
Prebenda de Keldoninane [Kildonan]	ij marc.
Vicarius de Culmalyn [Kilmalie]	xvij s. v d.
De Precentore	lxiij s. xi d.
De Thesaurario	xlviij s. x d.
De Vicario domini Episcopi	viij s.
Summa	xlv lib. xj s. x d.

Collectio decime Terre Sancte in Episcopatu Brekynensi pro primo termino secundi anni.

De bonis domini Episcopi	xiiij marc.
Abbas de Abberbrothoc	xij marc.
Thomas Pelle	xxj s. j d. ob.
Johannes Witeberd [2]	v s. ij d. ob.
Vicarius de Glenilif [Glenisla]	xxj s. iiij d.
Vicarius de Kyngoudrum [Kingoldrum]	viij s.
Abbas de Cambuskyncl	x s. pro ecclesia de Glenilif.
Prebenda de Kyrimur [3]	v s.
Ecclesia de Strathegtyn [Strathdighty] [4]	xxiij s. iiij d.
Item	dimid marc. de anno preterito.

[1] Now united with Halkirk. (*Fasti*, vii. 121.)

[2] John Wichard, above, p. 53.

[3] It is to be noted that in 1431 the vicarage of Kerymor was stated to be in the diocese of St. Andrews. (*Apostolic Camera and Scot. Benefices*, 104.) Cf. above, pp. 37, 63.

[4] Modern Mains. (See *Fasti*, v. 357.)

Item de Archidiacono pro pensione quam recipit de Magistro Symone	ij s. vj d.
Item pro anno preterito	v s.
Vicarius de Munros [Montrose]	j marc.
Item	xl d. pro anno preterito.
Vicarius de Katerlyn [Catterline]	dimid. marc.
Item	xl d.
Cancellarius	x s. iiij d. de anno preterito.

Item v s. pro termino presenti. Item per augmentum xx d.

Vicarius de Brekyn	x s.
Vicarius de Panbrid	x s.
Item dimid. marc. de anno preterito.	
Vicarius de Munweki [Monikie]	x s.
Abbas de Lundors	ij lib. vj s. vij d. ob.
Magister Johannes Scot	xxiij [sol.] [1] iiij d.
Item de Archidiacono	v s. pro emend. [*sic*].
De vicario de Katerlyn de arreragio anni preteriti	dimid. marc.
Item	xx s. pro alia ecclesia.
De Magistro domus Dei de Brekyn [2]	xx s. de anno preterito.
Vicarius de Dunde	xvij s. iiij d.
Item	ix s. de arreragio.
De Magistro Matheo	ix s.
De Magistro Symone Walays	xxxvj s.
De Magistro David de Inuerberuy	xxxix s.
Summa secundi termini	xxxij lib. viij s. vij d.

Summa vera totius secundi anni in Episcopatu Brekynensi lxx lib. xv s. vij d. ob. cum decima de Abberbrothok.

Solutio decime in Episcopatu Dublanensi [*sic*] pro secundo anno.

Ecclesia de Struan [Strowan]	l s.
De Kyppen	xl s.

[1] Supplied from Theiner, p. 115.

[2] The Hospital of Brechin was founded about 1267. (*Reg. Epis. Brechinen.*, 4-8.)

De Glendoun [? Glendevon]	xvj s. iij d.
De Mothieth [Muthill]	xxviij s. iiij d.
De Buthfuder [Balquhidder]	xvj s.
Ecclesia de Abernythi	vj marc. iiij. s.
Vicarius eiusdem	ij marc.
De Priore Sancti Colmoti [Inchmahome]	ix marc. xiij s. j d. ob.
Abbas de Lundors	c s. viij d.
De Sancto Mathoco [Kilmachog]	xxiiij s.
Ecclesia de Drun [Dron]	xvj s.
Vicarius eiusdem	xl d.
Vicarius de Aberothen [Aberuthven]	vij s.
Vicarius de Duny [Dunning]	xij s.
Vicarius de Gasc [Trinity Gask]	v s.
Vicarius de Foulis	xvij s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Tubbothen [Tullibody]	dimid. marc.
Abbas de Cambuskynel	x lib. viij s. xj d.
Ecclesia de Logy [Logie]	xlij s. viij d.
Vicarius eiusdem	ij marc.
Prebenda domini J. de Conplande	xxxij d.
De Clemente Capellano	ij s.
Vicarius de Struget [Strageich]	xxviij s.
Prebenda magistri Ricardi [1]	xxxij d.
Prior de Abernithi	vj marc.
Vicarius de Hughterardor [Auchterarder]	xviij s.
De Cumery [Comrie]	xxiiij s.
Abbas de Insula Missarum [Inchaffray]	xxiiij lib. xiij s. iij d. quarta.
De Aberpul [Aberfoyle]	vj s. j d. ob. de primo termino.
De Killebrid	xviij s. viij d.
De Fossanwy [Fossoway]	xxxiiij s. iij d.
De Nesgasc [Findogask] [2]	xxxv s. ix d.
De Archidiacono	xx s. iij d. ob.

[1] Compare the Master Richard, papal subdeacon and notary, nephew of the Cardinal of St. Angelo, who was dispensed in 1261 to hold one or more benefices in England. (*Cal. of Papal Registers*, i. 377.)

[2] See *Inchaffray Charters*, xlix.

De Vicario de Kylmadoc	ij marc.
De Tulialwy [Tulliallan]	x s.
Prebenda Magistri J. de Loggy	xiiij s. x d. ob.
De decima Episcopi	xl marc.
Summa	cx lib. xiiij s. x d. quarta.

Solutio decime Episcopatu Dunkeldensi pro secundo anno.

Abbas de Cambuskynel	xxvj s. j d. ob. quarta pro primo termino.
Vicarius de Cref	v s. pro uno termino.
Ecclesia de Maderthi	liij s. vj d. pro uno termino.
Vicarius de Tubermor [Tibbermore]	viij s. pro duobus terminis.
Ecclesia de Melging [Megginch]	xxxij s. viij d. ob.
Ecclesia de Fern	xxviij s. x d.
Ecclesia de Telyn [Tealing]	xxxvij s. iij d. ob.
Vicarius de Hugterhus [Auchterhouse]	x s.
Ecclesia de Abernith [Abernyte]	ij marc.
Ecclesia de Miggel [Meigle]	ij marc.
Vicarius eiusdem	iiij s.
Ecclesia de Rocheucn [Ruthven]	xvj s. vij d.
Vicarius de Forgrund [Forgandenny][1]	respondet Episcopus.
Ecclesia de Mukersi	vj s. ob. quarta pro primo termino.
Monasterium Sancti Columbe [Inchcolm]	xij lib. vij s.
Vicarius de Stramigloc [Strathmiglo]	xvj s. pro duobus terminis.
Vicarius de Aberlefdi [Aberlady]	ij marc.
Vicarius de Abercorn	xvj s.
Vicarius de Preston	v s. x d. ob. pro uno termino.
Vicarius de Bonkel	respondet Episcopus.
Vicarius de Caremund [Cramond]	x s. viij d.

[1] Forgandenny was a prebend of Dunkeld. (See *Rentale Dunkeldense, ad indices*, Scot. Hist. Soc.)

Ecclesia de Kynlyn [Killin]	v marc. x s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Ardoueny [Ardconaig]	viij s. viij d.
Abbas de Iy [Iona]	ix lib. xij d.
Ecclesia de Dul	x marc.
Ecclesia de Wem	xxx s.
Ecclesia de Rathineth [? Rait]	xx s. vj d. ob.
Ecclesia de Blarbrid [Blair Athol] [1]	xxx s.
Ecclesia de S. Truban [Strowan]	xx s.
Ecclesia de Kilmeuenoc [Kilmaveonaig]	j marc.
Ecclesia de Loed [Lude]	ix s. iiij d. pro uno termino.
Ecclesia dc Kylmighel [Kirkmichael]	iiij lib. ij s.
Vicarius eiusdem	dimid. marc. pro uno termino.
Ecclesia de Lundef [Lundeiff]	iiij s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Kyncleuyn [Kinclaven] [2]	xviij s. vj d. pro uno termino.
Ecclesia de Logynbrid [Logiebride]	xiiij s.
Ecclesia de Logynauelath [? Logie-Alloway]	xxx s.
Abbas de Dunfermelyn	lxx s.
Prebenda Decani cum ecclesiis de Inchecad et Clony [Inchcadin [3] and Cluny]	xii lib. iiij s.
Prebenda Thesaurarii	vij lib.
Prebenda de Retref [Rattray]	viij s. viij d.
Prebenda de Rossel [Ruffel]	viij s. ix d. pro uno termino.
Prebenda dc Cathbethac [Caputh]	xx s.
Prebenda de Fungor [Fongorth]	iiij marc. xvj d.
Prebenda de Cragi [Craigie]	
Prebenda de Inchemegranoc [Inchmagranoch]	xvj s. viij d.

[1] The church of Blair in Athol was dedicated to St. Bride. (*Fasti*, iv. 143.)

[2] Half of this church was afterwards given to Cambuskenneth. (See *Cartulary of Cambuskenneth*, Grampian Club.)

[3] Inchcadin, now Kenmore. (See *Rentale Dunkeldense*, 335.)

Prebenda de Obency	xij s.
Prebenda de Monithy [Moneydie]	xxxiiij s. viij d.
Prebenda de Cref	xlvij s. cum porcione Vicarii.
Prebenda de Melmorech [Menmuir]	lxvij s. vij d.
Cancellarius est Collector	
Communia Canonicorum	vij lib. ij s. vij d.
Dominus Episcopus	c marc.

Solutio decime Terre Sancte in diocesi Ecclesie Candide Case pro duobus primis annis.

In decanatu de Deesnes [Desnes] pro duobus annis.

Ecclesia de Bothel [Buittle]	xii marc.
Vicarius eiusdem	ij marc.
Ecclesia de Goueliston [Gelston]	xl s.
Ecclesia de Crosmighel [Crossmichael]	xviij m.
Vicarius de Kelton	j marc.
Vicarius de Kirkcubrich [Kirkcudbright]	ij marc.
Vicarius de Borg	xx s.
Vicarius de Tuinham [Twynholm]	j marc.
Ecclesia de Sanneck [Sennick] [1]	vij marc.
Ecclesia de Kircandrum Purcen [2]	ix marc. viij s.
Vicarius de Anewich [Anwoth]	ij marc.
Ecclesia de Kirkedal [3]	iiij marc.
Abbas Sancte Crucis de Edenburg	xxxj lib. x s. viij d.
De bonis pertinentibus ad Insulam de Thrahil [Traill]	xiiij lib. xiiij s. vj d.
De Monasterio de Tingeland [Tongland]	xvij lib. xij s.
Archidiaconus Candide Case	viij marc.

In Decanatu de Glenken pro duobus annis ut supra.

Ecclesia de Dalri [Dalry]	v lib. x s.
Ecclesia de Treuercarcou [Troqueer]	iij lib. xviij s. viij d.

[1] Sennick, or Sandwick, now united with Borgue. (*Fasti*, ii. 395.)
[2] Probably Kirkandrews, now united with Borgue. (*Ibid.*, 395.)
[3] Kirkdale, united with Kirkmabreck. (*Ibid.*, 367.)

Ecclesia de Kelles [Kells]	vij marc. et dimid.
Ecclesia de Parcon [Parton]	vj marc.
Vicarius de Kircanders Balimeth [1]	xx s.

In Decanatu de Farnes pro duobus annis.

Ecclesia de Peningham [2]	x marc.
Ecclesia de Carnemal [3]	xx marc.
Ecclesia de Lengast [Longcastle] [4]	xxxij s. ij d.
Ecclesia de Crugelton [Crugilton] [5]	iiij marc.
Vicarius eiusdem	xvij s. ij d.
Vicarius de Awengalceway [Galtway][6]	ij marc.
De bonis pertinentibus ad prioratum Candide Case	xxiiij lib. ix s. vj d.

In Decanatu de Remes [Rhinns] pro duobus annis ut supra.

Ecclesia de Insula [Inch]	xij marc.
Ecclesia de Kirkemethen [7]	v marc.
Ecclesia de Tuskercon [Toskerton] [8]	xxxij s.
Ecclesia de Leswalt	iij marc.
Ecclesia de Kyrcum [Kirkcolm]	viij marc.
Ecclesia de Stanacra [Stoneykirk]	xx s.
Ecclesia de Clotfent [Colvend]	iij marc.
De bonis spectantibus ad Monasterium de Sede Animarum [Saulseat]	iiij lib. xvj s.
Summa omnium Decanatuum et particularum prescriptorum per duos annos	cc lib. ix lib. xij s. j d.

[1] Probably Balmaghie, which was dedicated to St. Andrew. (*Ibid.*, 391.)

[2] The church of Penninghame is now at Newton Stewart. (*Ibid.*, 373.)

[3] Carnesmole, now part of Kirkinner. (Chalmers, *Caledonia*, v. 425-6 *n.*)

[4] Part of modern Kirkinner.

[5] Now in Sorbie parish. (*Fasti*, ii. 375.)

[6] Now in Kirkcudbright parish. (*Ibid.*, 416.)

[7] Both Kirkmaiden in Farines and Kirkmaiden in Rhinns were dedicated to St. Medan. (*Ibid.*, 359, 340.)

[8] Toskerton, or Kirkmadrine, now united with Stoneykirk. (*Ibid.*, 572-3.)

Solutio decime Terre Sancte in Episcopatu Moraviensi pro duobus terminis secundi anni.

Dominus Episcopus	c marc. vj s. viij d.
Item de alteragio de Elgyn soluit idem Episcopus	x s. viij d.
Decanus Morauiensis	xx marc. ix s. vij d.
Prior de Pleshardyn	xvij lib. vj s. viij d.
Prior de Wrhard	viij marc.
Prior de Bello Loco	xxxviij s. viij d.
Item tantumdem pro secundo termino.	
Prebenda de Duppol [Dipple]	xxxv s.
Prebenda de Inuerthoni [Inverkeithny]	xxxvij s. iiij d.
Item tantumdem pro secundo termino.	
Prebenda de Moy	viij s. ix d.
Ecclesia de Spiny	xix s. viij d.
Vicarius eiusdem	xvj s.
Ecclesia de Lundethy [Dunlichty]	xx s.
Vicarius de Durres [Dores]	xxiiij s.
Vicarius de Coneuay [Conveth]	ix s. iiij d.
Vicarius de Aberitacy	ix s. iiij d.
Vicarius de Alweth in Scraospe [Alvie in Strathspey]	xj s. ix d.
Ecclesie de Petyn et de Brantheli [Petty and Brachollic]	
Vicarius de Petyn	xx s.
Vicarius de Branthely	xx s.
Vicarius de Dundurgus	j marc.
Vicarius de Ryni	viij s. viij d.
Ecclesia	xvj s. iv d.
Vicarius de Duffus	ij marc.
Ecclesia de Duffus	vj marc.
Capella eiusdem ecclesie	xvj s.
Vicarius de Inuernis	iiij marc.
Vicarius de Wardlau	ix s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Glas	xiiij s. j d. cum vicario.
Item	xiiij s. j d. pro secundo termino.

Subdecanus	vj marc. v s. iiij d.
Vicarius de Daltres [Dalcross]	xv s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Althir [Altyre]	xiij s. iij d.
Ecclesia de Logykenni	xv s.
Ecclesia de Inueralyan	xv s.
Ecclesia de Abernithi	xvij s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Artildol [Arndilly]	xv s. iiij d.
Ecclesia de Ewen	xxxviij s. viij d.
Ecclesia de Deweth [Daviot]	xxxij s.
De terra eiusdem ecclesia [*sic*] et de dimid. marc. de Inuerlochin	xx d.
Item	xvj d. pro secundo termino.

FOUNDATION-CHARTER OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF DUNBAR

A.D. 1342

Edited by
D. E. EASSON

INTRODUCTION

THE foundation-charters of numerous Scottish collegiate churches, e.g. Maybole, Bothans, Crichton, Trinity College, Dunglass, Cullen, Biggar, have been published, but the earliest surviving instance of these charters is now printed for the first time. Even in the somewhat imperfect state in which it has come down to us, the foundation-charter of the Collegiate Church of Dunbar is of considerable interest as showing the constitution of a type of ecclesiastical foundation which, in the earlier fourteenth century, was new to Scotland and which, within the next two hundred years, was to become increasingly common and characteristic of the later Middle Ages. In 1342, at least one collegiate church—St. Mary's-on-the-Rock, St. Andrews—was already in being; the 'Culdee' community, in self-defence, had adopted the form of a secular college *c.* 1250.[1] Abernethy, also a Culdee community, had, by a course of events which is more obscure, become a collegiate church before 1345[2] and perhaps by 1325.[3] Such secularized Culdee foundations were the outcome of

[1] In 1250, a charter records the decision of commissaries in a controversy between the Prior and convent of St. Andrews and 'magistrum Adam de Malkarviston gerentem se pro preposito ecclesie sancte Marie civitatis sancti Andree et keledeos se gerentes pro canonicis' (*Nat. Lib. MS.* 15.1.18, 30).

[2] In this year, Walter de Coventre is described as holding a canonry of Abernethy, which, in 1349, is defined as a canonry of 'the collegiate church of Abernethy' (*C.P.R.*, Petitions, I, pp. 89, 145).

[3] Roger, canon of Abernethy, is mentioned in that year (*C.P.R.*, II, p. 243), but he may have been a regular, as it is said, without much authority, that Abernethy became a priory of Augustinian canons in 1272 or 1273 (Lawrie, *E.S.C.*, p. 245). The head of the collegiate church retained the title of Prior, but this was probably a relic of the Culdees.

a comparatively slight transition since they already had a virtually collegiate constitution. But Dunbar is the first instance in Scotland of a type of collegiate church which continued to be founded almost until the Reformation—that in which the *collegium* was set up in a parish church and grafted on the previous rectory or vicarage. Like other churches thus transformed, it retained, on becoming collegiate, its parochial character. But, in one respect, it was unusual alike among parish and collegiate churches. The parish of Dunbar was more extensive than it is to-day; and the parish church [1] was the mother-church of several affiliated chapels within the parochial bounds [2]—at Whittingehame (which had a quasi-parochial status), Spott, Stenton, Penshiel and Hedderwick. These were linked to the collegiate church and, except in the case of Whittingehame which had a vicar, were served by parochial chaplains.

The collegiate foundation was instituted by the local magnate and patron of the parish church of Dunbar, Patrick, Earl of March, at whose instigation William, Bishop of St. Andrews, granted the charter of erection on 21st September 1342; and the earl, by this step, set a fashion which was to be followed by many other Scottish barons and lairds. The constitution of the new foundation was probably imitative of some English model, although it is impossible to point to any which it reproduces. On the other hand, while later Scottish collegiate constitutions have parallels with that of Dunbar, none can be said to derive from it. In certain respects, it harks back to a form which is more characteristic of the older English collegiate churches of the 'cathedral' type than of the Scottish and

[1] It was dedicated to St. Bega or Beya (Mackinlay, *Dedications* (non-scriptural), p. 192, *q.v.*).

[2] Cf. Dowden, *Medieval Church in Scotland*, p. 137; Coulton, *Medieval Panorama*, p. 103.

English foundations of the ' chantry ' type. It has been said by Professor Hamilton Thompson, writing of the English colleges, that

> ' the cathedral model . . . was followed in the lesser collegiate churches but with the difference that they seldom possessed the full complement of dignities to be found in a cathedral church. In its simplest form, the chapter consisted merely of a dean and a certain number of canons, each with his prebend.'[1]

Dunbar Collegiate Church was founded for a dean, archpriest and eight canons. In Scotland, the more usual title of the head of a collegiate church was *provost.* Doubtless, royal foundations, like Restalrig and the Chapel Royal of Stirling, were to have deans ; but the dean at Trinity College, Edinburgh, was to be the second dignitary of the college. Provision for an archpriest was still more uncommon in Scotland ; only at Our Lady College, Glasgow, a much later foundation, was such an office created ; and to find contemporary English instances we have to refer to the diocese of Exeter. But the archpriest of Our Lady College was the second official of a college of chantry priests ; and the archpriests mentioned in England, e.g. at St. Michael's, Penkevel, near Truro, in 1319, and at Bere-Ferrers, in January 1333-34,[2] were in each case at the head of incorporations of chantry chaplains ; whereas the archpriest of the Collegiate Church of Dunbar was responsible for the parochial cure of souls and the supervision of the chaplains serving the outlying chapels.

The income of the collegiate church was to be derived from the revenues of the church of Dunbar (whose ample resources are mentioned in the charter [3]) augmented by

[1] ' Notes on Secular Canons ' in *Archaeol. Journal,* LXXIV, pp. 151-52.

[2] Oliver, *Monasticon Dioc. Exon.*, pp. 66, 289.

[3] It is valued in an early roll of benefices at 180 merks (*R.P.S.A.*, p. 30). At a later date, its revenues had declined in value.

the revenues of the parish churches of Linton, Duns and Chirnside, all in the patronage of the Earl of March, which were appropriated to the new foundation. From these 'ecclesiastical' revenues, the dean had assigned to him as his prebend the teinds and *obventiones* of the parish of Whittingehamc, which was to be served by a vicar; the archpriest was to receive the teinds and other income of the parish of Dunbar, exclusive of Whittingehame and excepting the teind of wool, sheep and lambs, and to hold the church lands of the whole parish except those of Whittingehame; while three canons were to be prebendaries respectively of Linton, Duns and Chirnside, these churches to be served by vicars. But, as appears from the allocation of the prebends, the income of the church was further supplemented from 'secular' sources, viz. the five townships of Dunbar, Pinkerton, Spott, Belton and Pitcox, which were to be the prebends of as many canons. It does not transpire whether these were granted to the church at a date anterior to the erection of the college or as part of Earl Patrick's endowment of the new foundation. In accordance with the practice adopted by cathedrals and, later, by other collegiate churches, any remaining income was to accrue to a common fund, which could be utilized to augment the prebends and to repair the choir of the church.[1] The collegiate foundation was at least nominally complete by 1353, when Thomas de Harcars is mentioned as canon and prebendary of Dunbar.[2]

The duties of the clergy, as specified in thc charter, are

[1] An indenture of 16th May 1453 records the settlement of a controversy between Dunbar and Melrose 'super decimis grangiarum de Edmondstoun grange et de hertishede wlgariter nuncupatarum que alias in fundacione dicte ecclesie collegiate deputabantur reparacioni et manutencioni chori prefate ecclesie collegiate et aliorum ornamentorum ipsius prout in fundacione dicte ecclesie collegiate lacius continetur' (*Melros*, II, 554). Nothing so specific, however, appears in the extant foundation-charter. These teinds had been in dispute since 1173 (*Ibid.*, I, 50).

[2] *C.P.R.*, Petitions, I, p. 255.

of the type usual in and characteristic of a collegiate foundation which, in this case as in all, originated in the founder's desire to provide for the multiplication and continuity of votive masses and prayers; in particular, they are to observe his *obit*, i.e. the anniversary of his death. It was customary for collegiate churches to have associated with them—ancillary to their main function as praying societies—song schools and grammar schools for the training of choir-boys and hospitals for the maintenance of poor bedesmen. Although no provision is made in this charter for boy-singers, the dean, it is said, is to have the rule of the school (*regimen scolarum*); and, at a later date, there is evidence of the existence both of a grammar school and a song school at Dunbar.[1] Likewise, a hospital, which does not appear to have been contemplated by the founder, is latterly associated with the collegiate church.[2]

One feature of the foundation-charter is especially significant both for its bearing on the career of the Scottish collegiate churches in general and on the history of the Collegiate Church of Dunbar in particular. It is stringently insisted that the collegiate clergy must be resident—a stipulation which figures again and again in the statutes of Scottish collegiate churches and which arises out of the founders' desire to secure continuity of masses and prayers —and this regulation is enforced by the infliction of pecuniary penalties on defaulters. Yet a loophole, of which, we may be sure, the canons were not slow to avail themselves, appears in the further statement that the dean, archpriest and canons, *whether they reside or not*, are to have priests continually residing in the college and maintaining its services. The consequences of this qualifying clause, which allowed the devolving of duties on

[1] *Hutton's Collections*, V, p. 179.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 178.

substitutes, were soon to be seen. The collegiate church became the happy hunting-ground of pluralists ; the first canon to be mentioned (in 1353) [1] was beneficed elsewhere, and another, Thomas de Barri, appears in 1378 as holding canonries and prebends of Glasgow and Dunbar.[2] In January 1434-35, by the forfeiture of the Earl of March, the patronage of the Collegiate Church of Dunbar passed to the Crown ; and when, in 1501, James IV secured the erection of his Chapel Royal at Stirling into a collegiate church, the bull of Pope Alexander VI, on the ground that in the church of Dunbar

> ' illius canonici pro maiori parte non per se sed prout in multis aliis collegiatis ecclesiis regni Scocie iuxta consuetudinem hactenus obseruatam fieri consueuerint per substitutos deseruiant,'

granted the annexation of its canonries to the king's foundation ; accordingly, the archpriestship and the canonries and prebends of Spott, Belton, Duns, Pinkerton and Dunbar were appropriated to the Chapel Royal.[3]

The structure of the Collegiate Church of Dunbar remained until the nineteenth century.[4] Miller, the local historian, describes it thus :

> ' This venerable fabric had all the appearance of being the workmanship of different ages. It was built in the form of a cross, measuring one hundred and twenty feet in length, while it was only from twenty to twenty-five feet broad, the transept or cross-aisle measuring eighty-three feet.' [5]

Its site is occupied by the present parish church.

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[1] Cf. p. 84 *supra*.

[2] *C.P.R.*, Petitions, I, p. 545.

[3] *Reg. Cap. Reg. Striv.*, pp. 4, 14.

[4] It was used for the last time on Sunday, 7th March 1819 (Miller, *History of Dunbar*, p. 192) ; thereafter it was torn down.

[5] Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

The original foundation-charter no longer survives ; nor, apparently, does the original of the confirmation-charter of 1429, in which it is incorporated. Of this later charter, which preserves the earlier record, several transcripts exist among the manuscript collections in the National Library of Scotland, viz. MSS. 22.1.14, 31.2.20 and 34.3.11. The two latter versions purport to be derived from the first, but they display variants which, in some cases, may be more than accidental. There is a further version, taken from the National Library MSS., in Edinburgh University Library (*Laing MSS.*, III, 323, f. 28v), but it contains only about a quarter of the present charter. None of the earlier transcripts in the National Library can be deemed satisfactory ; all have obvious errors, and 34.3.11, in particular, is written by a scribe whose knowledge of Latin was less than elementary. Further, all the versions seem to be defective inasmuch as the names of no witnesses occur. The editing of the charter has thus been a task of considerable difficulty. The MS. 22.1.14, as apparently the most accurate, has been taken as the 'standard' text, and variants supplied by 31.2.20 and—in certain cases—by the other MSS. are given as footnotes. Square brackets indicate editorial emendations, which have been made as sparingly as possible. The text remains in many places questionable, but its drift can mainly be perceived. I have capitalized all personal names and the names of places ; and I have added such punctuation as appears necessary. To Mr. M. R. Dobie, Dr. L. W. Sharp and Mr James Beveridge I am indebted for assistance and advice and I have pleasure in expressing to them my thanks.

D. E. EASSON.

FOUNDATION-CHARTER OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF DUNBAR, A.D. 1342

The sources are cited as follows: A = *Nat. Lib. MS.* 22.1.14 (the basis of the text); B = *Nat. Lib. MS.* 31.2.20; C = *Nat. Lib. MS.* 34.3.11; U = *Edinburgh University Laing MSS.*, III, 323, f. 28v.

UNIVERSIS sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quorum notitias presentes litere pervenerint Henricus [1] Dei [2] et apostolice sedis [3] gratia episcopus Sanctiandree salutem in omnium salvatore. Noveritis universitas vestra [4] literas bone memorie quondam domini Willelmi [5] eadem gratia episcopi Sanctiandree predecessoris nostri non rasas non abolitas non cancellatas non in aliqua sui parte viciatas sigillis dicti quondam domini Willelmi [5] episcopi et [6] capituli ecclesie nostre cathedralis Sanctiandree et quondam recolende memorie domini Patricii de Dumbar comitis Marchie sigillatas erectionem quarundem ecclesiarum infrascriptarum cum suis capellis in quibus idem quondam comes suique heredes et successores obtinebant et obtinent jus patronatus in ecclesiam collegiatam de Dumbar ad instanciam eiusdem quondam domini comitis unacum quibusdam statutis infrascriptis continentes [7] ac nobis per venerabilem virum dominum Robertum Younge [8] decanum ecclesie collegiate de Dumbar antedicte in presentia magnifici et potentis domini domini Georgii comitis Marchie [9] presentatas incepisse in hec verba: Universis Christi fidelibus presens scriptum visuris vel audituris Willelmus [10] miseratione divina episcopus Sanctiandree

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[1] C, A, B: 'Hendricus'.
[2] C only.
[3] A omits 'apostolice sedis'.
[4] All insert 'nos' here, but this word seems redundant.
[5] A: 'Willielmi'.
[6] A omits.
[7] B inserts here 'audivisse'.
[8] B: 'Young'.
[9] A, B, C: 'Marchii'.
[10] A: 'Willielmus'.

salutem in domino dominorum. [Quod] bone rei nos dare consultum [1] et nobis addiccre [2] primum confidimus remunerationes eterni domini expectantes [3] ad omnipotentis Dei laudem et honorem in ecclesiis nobis subjectis prout carum facultates suppetunt [4] Dei [5] cultus ordinamus augmentum. Cum igitur redditus exitus et proventus ecclesie parochialis de Dumbar [6] et capellaniarum [7] viz. Quhittinghame [8] Spott Stantoun Panschell et Hathyrvyk antiquitus annexarum [9] nostre diocesis que [10] bonis consueverunt obvenire rectori in tantum habundant et domino largiente amplius [11] habundare credantur in futurum et pluribus sacerdotibus ac ministris cum annexatione trium ecclesiarum parochialium cum vacaverint viz. Lintoun Duns et Cherynsyd [12] in eadem ecclesia domino laudabiliter sufficient valeant competent ad instantem requisitionem nobilis et potentis viri domini Patricii de Dumbar comitis Marchie cui jure hereditario jus in iisdem ecclesiis de Dumbar Lintoun Duns et Cherynsyd [13] competit patronatus necnon de unanimi consensu totius capituli nostri habito super hoc presens cum diligenti et solemni seu sufficienti tractatu in eodem capitulo In Dei nomine Amen ecclesias parochiales dc Dumbar Lyntoun Duns et Cheyrnsyd [14] cum suis capellis in collegiatam ecclesiam erigimus [15] in hunc modum videlicet quod in dicta ecclesia collegiata sint futuri in perpetuis temporibus decanus archipresbyter parochianorum et capellarum parochialium curam gerens octo canonici simplices prebendas simplices habcntes sacerdotales ad presentationem dicti domini comitis et suorum successorum comitum Marchie. Decanus et archipresbyter ad continuam residentiam tencantur [16] nisi cum iis vel eorum aliquo per nos vcl successores nostros episcopos seu capitulum nostrum sedc vacante super non residentia ad

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[1] B, U : ' concilium '.
[2] U : ' adducere '.
[3] B only.
[4] U : ' suppetimus '.
[5] A, B, C, U : ? ' divini '.
[6] A omits ' de Dumbar '.
[7] C, U : ' capelarum '.
[8] B : ' Quihittinghame '.
[9] A, B, C : ' annexorum '.
[10] B : ' qui '.
[11] B : ' ampliari '.
[12] B : ' Chernsyde '.
[13] B : ' Chirnsyde '.
[14] B : ' Chirnsyde '.
[15] A : ' eregimus '.
[16] A : ' teneant ' ; U : ' tenerent '.

tempus ex causa rationabili fuit dispensatum [et] ministrant [1] in ordine sacerdotali. Ceteri canonici simplices pro tempore quo residentiam non fecerint non solum nihill de recipiendis [2] recipient [3] quinimmo tertiam partem prebendarum propriarum residentibus dimittere teneant[ur] [4] in usus residentium seu commune [5] proportionaliter [6] prout expedire viderint convertendam eorum [7] viz. absentiam declaramus fore in talem ad hoc quod premissis portionibus careant si se per tres menses continue seu interpellatim infra unius anni spatium absentaverint. Decanus etiam et archipresbyter ac ecteri canonici eum suis prebendis instituti fuerint in statum fidueie [8] nihill percipient de grossis fructibus prebendarum suarum nisi prius precognita duas septimanas nocte dieque continuam residentiam fecerunt vel nisi cum ipsis per nos vel successores nostros ex causa rationabili fuerit dispensatum tam viz. decanus et archipresbyter [9] quam eeteri canonici singuli sive resideant sive non singulos habeant sacerdotes continue in ipsam ecclesiam collegiatam residentes ministrantes ecclesie in habitu decenti canonicorum secularium psallentes horas diurnas pariter et noeturnas secundum usum ecclesie Scoticane et cantantes quolibet die duas missas unam de beata Maria et aliam de die et in omnium secunda feria unam [10] missam solemniter pro defunctis propter impedimentum alicujus festi illam missam habere [11] non poterint cantetur illa missa in proxima die sequente vacante. Capellanus autem archipresbyteri [12] cum aliquibus horis propter curam parochie abesse contigerit excusa-

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[1] A : ' ministratur ' ; B : ' ministrantur '. The passive form would appear to be a slip either of the original scribe or the transcriber under the influence of the previous passive, ' teneantur '.

[2] U : ' omnibus '.

[3] A, C omit.

[4] A, B, C, U : ' teneant '. U follows this word with ' etc., etc.', and goes on to the testing clause.

[5] A, B, C give this word in contracted form ' coē ' ; ? ' communie '.

[6] The rendering in both A and B is dubious.

[7] B : ' horum '.

[8] A : ' in statu fiduci ' ; B : ' in statum fiduci '.

[9] A : ' archiepresbyter '.

[10] B : ' christianam '.

[11] A : ' haberi '.

[12] A : ' archiepresbyteri '.

tionem habeat occupatus. Ad officium decani spectat preesse tam archipresbytero [1] quam ceteris canonicis et ministris dicte ecclesie negligentias ipsorumque excessus infra clausuram commissos correctione et punitione [2] corrigere et excessum punire ipsorumque custodie et discipline cum regimine scolarum insistere super eos cum coercionis canonice potestate sub nobis et nostris successoribus in premissis ordinariam jurisdictionem habere et que ad divini cultus decentiam in ipsa ecclesia pertinent ordinare quo pro prebenda sua percipiet omnes decimas tam majores quam minores et obventiones parochie de Quhittinghame [3] et ibidem habebit unum vicarium perpetuum quem presentabit episcopo ita quod ejus institutio et destitutio pertineat ad episcopum et dictus vicarius percipiet libere annuatim decem marcas sterlingorum. Ad officium archipresbyteri pertineat curam gerere parochie et [4] capellanos parochiales sub ipso tam in ecclesia quam in capellis eidem [5] annexis excepto vicario de Quhyttinghame [6] prout alias rector consueverat [7] invenire sacramenta ecclesiastica parochianis dicte ecclesie ad altare beate Marie virginis in nave dicte ecclesie de novo constructum ministrare per se vel per alium vel alios sacerdotes et nobis ac successoribus et ministris de speciali cura huiusmodi respondere cui pro prebenda assignati sunt omnes decime et obventiones altaragia spectantes totius parochie de Dumbar preter decimas capelle de Quhyttinghame [8] excepta decima lane ovium et agnorum et habebit omnes terras ecclesiasticas totius parochie preter terras ecclesie de Quhittynghame.[9] Ad ceteros canonicos pertinent officiarii ecclesie iuxta ordinationes sive [10] gradus quorum singulis tales assignamus prebendas viz. canonico prebendario de Dumbar totam villam de Dumbar cum

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[1] A : ' archiepresbytero '.
[2] A inserts here ' successoribus nostris '.
[3] B : ' Qyttinghame '.
[4] A omits.
[5] A, B, C : ' eisdem '.
[6] B : ' Quittinghame '.
[7] B inserts here a word which looks like ' regere '.
[8] B : ' Quittinghame '.
[9] B : ' Quittynghame '.
[10] B, C : ' sue ' (*sc.* ' seu ').

omnibus suis pertinentiis Item canonico prebendario de Pynkartoun totam villam de Pynkartoun cum pertinentiis [Item] canonieo prebendario de Spott totam villam de Spott cum pertinentiis Item canonico prebendario de [1] Beltoun totam villam de Beltoun cum pertinentiis quomodolibet assignatis [2] Item canonieo prebendario de Petcokkys totam villam dc Petcokkys cum pertinentiis [3] singulis tamen istorum his exceptis que arehipresbytero quomodolibet assignantur Item canonico prebendario de Lintoun totam parochiam de Lintoun cum omnibus suis pertinentiis et ibidem habebit unum vicarium perpetuum quem presentabit episcopo ita quod ejus institutio et destitutio pertineat ad episeopum et dictus vicarius percipiet annuatim decem marcas sterlingorum Item canonico prebendario de Duns totam parochiam de Duns cum omnibus suis pertinentiis et ibidem habebit unum vicarium perpetuum quem presentabit episeopo et canonico prebendario de Cherynsyd [4] totam parochiam [5] cum pertinentiis et habebit ibidem unum vicarium perpetuum ceteris prenominatis consimile[m].[6] Cum autem [7] decanus archipresbyter canonici vel eorum aliqui cesserint deeesserint vel amoti fuerint alii loeis eorum vel prebendis presentabuntur nobis seu successoribus nostris qui pro tempore fuerint vel capitulo nostro sede vacante per dictum dominum eomitem et suos successores comites ita quod institutio eorum et destitutio ad nos et suceessores pertineat secundum eanonicas sanctiones [et] canones.[8] Ceteri redditus et proventus ceclesiarum de Dumbar et predictarum capellarum eidem annexarum convertantur in usus eanonicos residentium [9] ita quod [10] eisdem distribuendis

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[1] A omits.
[2] B: 'assignantur'.
[3] B inserts 'de'.
[4] B: 'Chrynsyd'.
[5] A omits 'totam parochiam'.
[6] B omits.
[7] A has an unintelligible contraction here.
[8] A, B, C: A possible reading is the omission of the conjectural 'et' and the substitution of 'omnes' for 'canones'.
[9] B: 'residentis' or 'residentes'. It is tempting to make the previous word 'canonicorum'; but the phrase as given by A may plausibly be retained (= 'to the canonical uses of those resident').
[10] B inserts 'in'.

compotum portionum reddatur[1] bis in anno viz. ad festum penthecostes et sancti Martini in hyeme proximo sequenti[2] non residentes nihill percipiant ut est dictum salvis in omnibus nobis et successoribus nostris censu annuo procurationibus et ceteris episcopalibus universis in dictis ecclesiis cum capellis ac visitationibus nostris annuis tam in capite quam in membris ut in aliis ecclesiis nostre diocesis et archidiaconalibus jurisdictione archidiaconi Laudonie qui pro tempore fuerit in archipresbyterum vicarios de Quhyttinghame Lintoun Duns Cherynsyd[3] capellanosque parochiales et parochianos hactenus extitit consuetum. Cum autem chorus ecclesie de Dumbar reedificandus vel reparandus[4] fuerit ad decanum et canonicos huiusmodi sumptus pertineant levandi de communia sed edificatio et reparatio navis ecclesie ad parochianos sicuti hactenus pertinebunt.[5] Cum autem chori ecclesiarum de Lintoun Duns et Cheyrnsyd[6] re-edificandi fuerint seu reparandi ad eorum canonicos sicuti alias eorum[7] rectores consueverint[8] pertinebunt. Volumus insuper et ordinamus quod licet ecclesie de Dumbar Lyntoun Duns et Cherynsyd[9] abolim[10] parochiales per nos et capitulum nostrum de consensu predicti magnifici viri comitis Marchie earundem patroni in canonia[m] seu canonicorum collegium pro ecclesie utilitate et Dei cultus augmentatione sint translate per hoc jura et honor patronatus dicti domini comitis quem prius habuit in dictis ecclesiis pro se suisque successoribus fieri volumus prejudicium quomodolibet qui ad decanatum archi-presbyteratum[11] et ceteras prebendas in ecclesia con-stitutas cum vacaverint possit et possint sui successores comites viros idoneos presentare absque contradictione qualibet admittendos et instituendos viz. decanus et archipresbyter per decanum nostrum ruralem de

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[1] A: 'redditur'.
[2] B: 'sequentis'.
[3] B: 'Chernsyde'.
[4] A: 'reportandus'.
[5] B: 'pertinebit'.
[6] B: 'Chernsyd'.
[7] *Sic* A, B.
[8] B: 'consueverunt' (?).
[9] B: 'Chirnsyde'.
[10] B omits.
[11] A, B: 'archipresbyterum'.

Hadingtoun ceteri prebendarii nobis prius presentati per decanum ecclesie de Dumbar vel cui ad hoc commiserit [1] vires suas. Statuimus etiam et ordinamus de consensu dicti patroni quod dictus decanus et archipresbyter ac ceteri canonici venire teneantur ad synodum nostrum et archipresbyter ad confectionem crismatis sicut ceteri rectores nostre diocesis et beneficiati. Statuimus etiam et ordinamus quod capitulum singulis diebus et saltem quolibet sabbato celebretur in quo negligentie excessus ut committitur corrigatur.[2] Tabula scribatur ordo officiantium per hepdomadum. Statuimus etiam et ordinamus quod statim cum canonici de Dumbar audiverint et sciverint mortem nobilis viri comitis Marchie eorum patroni eodem die ab eis decantur [3] in choro ad vesperas solempne [4] cum nota vigilie mortuorum pro anima istius in crastino post missam beate Marie celebretur ad magnum altare una missa solempnis[5] cum nota pro anima ejusdem et quod obitus illius scribatur in martilogio [6] eorum vel alio libro et inperpetuum in eorum capitulo pro tempore legatur semel in anno et fiant [7] tunc vigilie solemnes et missa in crastino pro anima ipsius ut supra est notatum. Ad eundem ordinem per omnia et in omnibus volumus statuimusque precipimus [8] perpetuis temporibus observari et fieri pro animabus omnium successorum comitis prefati comitum Marchie pro anima nostra et animabus omnium successorum nostrorum ecclesie Sanctiandree episcoporum. Statuta vero per decanum et capitulum dicte ecclesie si qua fiant in futurum contra premissa vel aliqua premissorum seu privilegia si qua impetrentur premissis adversa statuimus de consensu dicti comitis et domini patroni nullius efficacie fore vel momenti. Statuimus nihilominus et ordinamus de consensu dicti comitis et patroni [9] quod decanus archipresbyter et ceteri

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[1] B: 'conferit'.

[2] A: 'corrigantur'. The phrase may have been 'negligentie (et) excessus . . . corrigantur'.

[3] B, C, A: 'dicantur'; ? 'decantantur.'

[4] B: 'solemne'; ? 'solemnes'.

[5] B: 'solemnis'.

[6] A: 'martilegio'.

[7] B: 'fiunt'.

[8] A, B: 'percepimus'.

[9] A, B and probably C: 'Patricii'.

canonici in ipsa instituendi antequam instituantur nobis et successoribus ac [1] capitulo nostro sede vacante corporale prestent juramentum quod nullo tempore venient contra presentem ordinationem nostram in parte vel in toto nec venire quomodolibet tentabunt et si contingat eos vel aliquem ipsorum contrarium facere seu facere presumere aliquo modo vel tempore volumus et statuimus de consensu dicti domini patroni quod tanquam rei puniri [2] a suis beneficiis per nos et successores nostros amoveantur et alii locis eorum per dictum dominum comitem vel suos successores comites nobis vel successoribus nostris episcopis seu capitulo nostro sede vacante presententur. Volumus etiam et ordinamus quod dicti decanus et capitulum habeant commune sigillum in arcam communem clausum et clausam sigillis decani archipresbyteri ac unius canonici per capitulum ad hoc electi quousque aperiatur de consensu decani et capituli ob utilitatem et necessitatem aliquas emergentes. Ad hoc autem et hec omnia et singula in suis singulis [3] articulis firme observantur predictus dominus Patricius de Dumbar comes Marchie pro se et suis successoribus tactis Dei evangeliis super magnum altare ecclesie beati [4] Sanctiandree in presentia multorum corporale prestitit juramentum de nunquam deveniendo directe vel indirecte per se vel alios contra premissam nostram ordinationem et capituli. Voluit autem tunc et concessit dictus dominus comes quod omnes successores sui sc vel heredes teneantur ad consimile iuramentum prestandum et si contingat quod absit dictum dominum comitem vel quoscunque successores suos [5] vel heredes futuris temporibus contra premissorum ordinationem in toto vel in parte venire voluit expresse consensit [6] et ordinavit quod centum libratc terre sue sine processu judiciario applicentur ecclesie nostre Sanctiandree inperpetuum et quod nos vel successores nostri non teneamur admittere quemcunque presentatum per illum premisse ordinationi nostre contradicente[m] quousque hanc ordinationem nostram

[1] B: 'et'.
[2] B, A: 'punire'.
[3] A, B, C: 'sigillis'.
[4] *Sic* A, B, C.
[5] A: 'sui'.
[6] A: 'consentit'.

in omnibus et singulis suis articulis approbaverit [1] cum effectu. In quorum omnium testimonium sigillum nostrum unacum sigillo capituli nostri et dieti domini comitis ejusdem ecclesie patroni [2] presentibus est appensum in nostro capitulo ubi omnia et singula predicta prout sunt scripta ordinata fuerunt et acta in festo beati Matthei [3] apostoli anno domini millesimo trccentesimo quadragesimo secundo. Post quarum quidem [4] literarum presentationem receptionem lectionem atque maturam examinationem predictus Robertus Young decanus antedictus cum pleno consensu et assensu domini Georgii comitis antedicti nobis humiliter supplicavit quatenus predictas litteras et statuta in eisdem contenta confirmare approbare et ratificare nostra ordinaria auctoritate dignaremur.[5] Nos igitur Henricus episcopus antedictus hujusmodi supplicationem reputantes fore justam ac rationi consonam predictas litteras et statuta in cisdem contenta cum consensu et assensu prioris et totius capituli ecclesie nostre cathedralis Sanctiandree antedicte necnon prefati domini Georgii comitis Marchie in omnibus suis punctis modis et articulis forma pariter et effectu in omnibus et per omnia approbamus ratificamus et pro nobis et successoribus nostris inperpetuum confirmamus. In quorum [6] omnium et singulorum [7] fidem et testimonium sigillum nostrum ac sigillum commune capituli ecclesie nostre Sanctiandree unacum sigillo dicti domini comitis ciusdem ecclesie de Dumbar patroni sunt appensa apud Sanctumandream [8] xxiii die mensis Octobris anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo vicesimo nono et consecrationis nostre xxvii mo.

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[1] B, A: 'approbaverat'.
[2] A, B omit.
[3] A: 'Mathei'.
[4] B omits.
[5] A: 'dignarentur'.
[6] B: 'quarum'.
[7] B: 'singularum'.
[8] A, B, C: 'Sanctandrois'.

ABSTRACT OF THE FOREGOING CHARTER

Letters of Henry, Bishop of St. Andrews, making known that letters of the late William, Bishop of St. Andrews (containing the erection of certain churches and their chapels, in which the late Patrick, Earl of March and his heirs and successors have and had the right of patronage, into the collegiate church of Dunbar, at the desire of that earl, together with certain statutes), presented to him [Bishop Henry] by Robert Young, dean of the collegiate church, in presence of George, Earl of March began thus : William, Bishop of St. Andrews, confident that he is issuing a decree for a good object and securing the reward of the eternal Lord, ordains the increase of divine worship in the churches subject to him so far as their resources permit. Accordingly, as the revenues of the parish church of Dunbar and its annexed chapels—Whittingehame, Spott, Stenton, Penshiel and Hedderwick—are large and, through the Lord's generosity,[1] likely to increase, and with the annexation of the churches of Linton, Duns and Chirnside can provide for more priests and ministers in that church, the bishop, at the request of the patron, Patrick, Earl of March and with the consent of his chapter, erects the parish churches of Dunbar, Linton, Duns and Chirnside with their chapels into a collegiate church, so that in the collegiate church there will be in all time coming a dean, an archpriest having the cure of the parishioners and the parochial chapels, and eight canons holding prebends, in the presentation of the earl and his successors. The dean and archpriest are bound to continuous residence unless non-resident by episcopal dispensation and serve the church in priest's orders. The other canons who have failed to reside will not only receive nothing from the revenues but a third of their prebends will be forfeit to the use of those resident or to the common fund, three months' continuous or intermittent absence in a year warranting the withholding of these portions ; nor will the dean, archpriest and other canons, once instituted to their prebends, receive anything from the great fruits [i.e. the rectorial teinds] of their prebends unless they have previously made continuous residence, day and night, for two weeks or have had a dispensation ; and, in any case, the dean, archpriest and canons, whether resident or not, are to have priests continually residing at the collegiate church, serving it in the proper garb of secular canons, singing the day and night hours, according to the Scottish use, and singing daily two masses, one of the Blessed [Virgin] Mary and the other of the day, and on every second week-day a mass, in solemn manner, for the dead—if a feast comes in the way,

[1] ' Domino largiente ' may, however, mean ' by the generosity of the lord (earl) '.

this mass is to be sung on the next available day ; and the archpriest's chaplain, when absent from any of the hours on account of the parochial cure, is excused as on duty. The dean's office involves presiding over the archpriest and the other canons and servants of the church, the correction of their negligence and excesses, the rule of the school, the exercise of ordinary jurisdiction and the regulation of worship. His prebend will be the whole teinds, great and small, and altar-dues of the parish of Whittingehame, where he will have a perpetual vicar whom he will present to the bishop, to whom the vicar's institution and removal will belong, the vicar to receive ten merks. To the archpriest's office belongs the cure of the parish, the rule of the parochial chaplains except the vicar of Whittingehame, the supply of the sacraments to the parishioners at the newly built Lady altar in the nave of the church, service [in the choir] in person or by substitute and responsibility to the bishop for his special charge. His prebend is the whole teinds and altar-dues of the parish of Dunbar except the teinds of the chapel of Whittingehame and excluding the teind of wool, sheep and lambs ; he will hold all the church lands of the parish save those of the church of Whittingehame. To the other canons, who hold office in the church according to [its] ordinances and [their] standing, prebends are thus assigned : to the canon prebendary of Dunbar the whole township of Dunbar with all its pertinents ; to the canon prebendary of Pinkerton the whole township of Pinkerton with all its pertinents ; to the canon prebendary of Spott the whole township of Spott with its pertinents ; to the canon prebendary of Belton the whole township of Belton with its pertinents however assigned ; to the canon prebendary of Pitcox the whole township of Pitcox with its pertinents except those in any wise assigned to the archpriest ; to the canon prebendary of Linton the whole parish of Linton with all its pertinents and he will have there a vicar, whom he is to present to the bishop to whom will belong his institution and removal, at an annual stipend of ten merks ; so of the canons prebendaries of Duns and Chirnside. On the death, resignation or removal of the dean, archpriest or canons, others will be presented to the bishop by the patron. The remaining revenues of the churches of Dunbar and the annexed chapels will be assigned to the canonical uses of those in residence and an account of the portions is to be given twice a year (non-residents to receive nothing) reserving to the bishop his annual tax, procurations and other episcopal dues in these churches and chapels and annual visitations as well as archidiaconal rights and the jurisdiction of the archdeacon of Lothian over the archpriest, the vicars of Whittingehame, Linton, Duns and Chirnside, the parochial chaplains and parishioners as in vogue hitherto. The rebuilding or repair of the choir of the church of Dunbar is to be borne by the dean and canons from their common fund ; but the rebuilding and repair of the nave will lie with the parishioners as formerly. The rebuilding or repair of the choirs of the churches of Linton, Duns and Chirnside will concern the respective canons. Should the churches of Dunbar, Linton,

Duns and Chirnside be transferred by the bishop with the earl's consent to a canonry or college of canons, the right and honour of patronage will remain with the earl, who will present suitable men to the deanery, archpriestship and the other prebends, the dean and archpriest to be instituted by the rural dean of Haddington and the other prebendaries, after presentation to the bishop, by the dean of Dunbar or his deputy. The dean, archpriest and canons are bound to attend the bishop's synod and the archpriest [in particular] for the making of chrism like other rectors and beneficed clergy. A chapter is to be held daily and especially on Saturday, when excess of[1] negligence is to receive correction and a list of those taking duty for the week is to be written. Immediately the canons have heard of the earl's death, that day there will be solemnly sung by them at vespers with music the vigils of the dead for his soul. Next day, after the mass of the B.V.M., a solemn mass with music for his soul will be celebrated at the high altar and his obit written in their martyrology or some other book and read out for ever in their chapter once a year and thereafter solemn vigils and a mass on the morrow for his soul performed ; the same observances to be made for ever for the souls of succeeding Earls of March, for the bishop's soul and the souls of succeeding Bishops of St. Andrews. Anything done by the dean and chapter contrary to these statutes or any claims subversive of their privileges shall be of none effect. Before their institution, the dean, archpriest and canons will take oath to do nothing contrary to the present ordinance ; and if they do so, they are to be removed from their benefices by the bishop and others presented in their place. The dean and chapter will have a common seal enclosed in a common chest, which is closed with the seals of the dean, archpriest and one of the canons until, with the consent of the dean and chapter, it is opened when use or necessity arises. At the high altar of the church of St. Andrews, Patrick, Earl of March, took oath never to violate the ordinance of the bishop and chapter, granted that all his successors shall be bound by a similar oath and consented that on his infraction or theirs, 100 poundlands of his land shall fall, without legal process, to the church of St. Andrews for ever and that the bishop and his successors shall not be bound to admit a presentee in contravention of the present ordinance, which he has approved. The seals of the bishop, the chapter and the earl are attached in the chapter, where the transaction took place, on St. Matthew's day [21 September] 1342. After the presentation of these letters, Robert Young, the dean, with the consent of Earl George, craved that the bishop would confirm them and the statutes contained therein. Accordingly, Bishop Henry, with the consent of the prior and chapter and of George, Earl of March, ratifies and confirms these letters and statutes ; and his seal and the common seal of the chapter and the earl's seal are attached at St. Andrews on 23 October 1429 and the 27th year of the bishop's consecration.

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[1] ? 'and'. See p. 95.

NOTES TO THE FOREGOING CHARTER

Henricus . . . episcopus Sanctiandree. Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, 1403 (?)-1440 (Dowden, *Bishops*, pp. 30-31).

Quondam domini Willelmi . . . episcopi Sanctiandree. William de Landallis, Bishop of St. Andrews, 1341/2-1385 (Dowden, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26).

Quondam . . . domini Patricii de Dumbar comitis Marchie. Patrick, ninth Earl of Dunbar and second or fourth Earl of March ; born in 1282 ; succeeded his father at the age of twenty-four. He held the earldom for nearly sixty years and died apparently before 25 July 1368 (*Scots Peerage*, III, art. ' Dunbar, Earl of Dunbar '). His wife, Agnes Randolph (the famous ' Black Agnes ' of the siege of Dunbar Castle), on the death of her brother Thomas, Earl of Moray, at Neville's Cross on 1346, succeeded to his estates and her husband assumed the title of Earl of Moray (Miller, *History of Dunbar*, p. 55).

Dominum Robertum Youngc decanum ecclesie collegiate de Dumbar. Perhaps identical with Robert Young, priest, who petitions for a benefice in the gift of the bishop, prior and chapter of St. Andrews in 1394 (*C.P.R.*, Petitions, I, p. 585). He was archpriest before becoming dean. A petition of 1418 for a papal chaplainry describes him as archpriest of the collegiate church of Dunbar and ' eldest son of George, Earl of March ' (*Ibid.*, p. 612) ; he may have been an illegitimate son of the Earl of March, otherwise the statement is inexplicable. On 29 Dec. 1419, ' Archibald, Earl of Douglas, in the person of his kinsman, Robert Young, archpriest of the collegiate church, chaplain of the apostolic see and B. Dec., supplicates for a dispensation to hold an additional benefice ' (*Supplics.*, p. 140). He had either vacated or was about to vacate the archpriestship by 27 Oct. 1424, when Donald Post is mentioned as provided to the benefice of which he has not yet got possession (*C.P.R.*, VII, p. 359). He was dead before 21 Oct. 1441, when Adam Hepburn was provided to the deanery, vacant by his decease (*C.P.R.*, IX, p. 72).

Domini Georgii comitis Marchie. Eleventh and last of the Earls of Dunbar ; son of George, tenth Earl, whom he had succeeded by 31 March 1423. ' In 1433 . . . in pursuance of the king's policy of enriching the Crown at the expense of the greater nobles, he was warded in Edinburgh Castle and his castle of Dunbar was seized. In the following year (10 Jan. 1434-35), Parliament declared his earldom and estates to be forfeited to the

Crown, but the reasons are given in no extant record. . . . The Earl quietly submitted to his deprivation and henceforth resided on his estate of Kilconquhar in Fife. . . . (He) survived until 4 August 1455, when he was residing at Kilconquhar, but probably died not long after that date' (*Scots Peerage*, III, art. 'Dunbar, Earl of Dunbar'). Miller (*History of Dunbar*, p. 88) states, on the other hand, that after his forfeiture the Earl and his son retired to England. It was probably this Earl George in whose favour certain lands of Aldcambus were excambed by Dunfermline (*Coldingham*, CCXLIV).

Quhittinghame. A parish S.W. of Dunbar. The status of the church was somewhat anomalous. It appears here as one of the chapels affiliated to the parish church of Dunbar; but there is nevertheless a reference at a later point in the charter to the parish of Whittingehame; and it is to be served by a vicar and not by a parochial chaplain. It is mentioned as a chapel of the church of Dunbar in a thirteenth or fourteenth century 'taxatio' (*R.P.S.A.*, p. 30). John Major describes it as dedicated to St. Oswald (Mackinlay, *Dedications* (non-scriptural), p. 234); and its formal dedication by Bishop David de Bernham took place on 7 May 1245 (Lockhart, *Church of Scotland in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 59). Gilbert, parson of 'Witingham,' witnesses a charter of Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, *a.* 1232 (*Coldstream*, 7); and 'W. persona de Witigham,' appears in a fragmentary charter (*R.P.S.A.*, p. 379). On 6 July 1469, Sir Thomas Fermour, vicar of Whittingehame, is a witness (*H.M.C. Rep. Milne Home MSS.*, p. 234).

Spott. S. of Dunbar. Probably remained a parochial chapel until the Reformation. The 'parsons' or 'rectors' of Spott, who appear in records, were the holders of the prebend in the collegiate church and not parochial clergy. Sir James Kincraigy was, on 16 April 1499, presented to the chaplainry of the parsonage of Spott, vacant by the decease of Sir Hew Hudsoun, last parson and possessor thereof (*R.S.S.*, I, 383). Mr. Robert Galbraith, rector of Spott and later a lord of Council and Session, appears frequently in records from 8 Dec. 1519 (see *Inchcolm*, p. 188). The rectory of Spott is valued at £5, 6s. 8d. in a fifteenth-century roll of benefices (Habakkuk Bisset, *Rolment of Courtis*, II, p. 8). It was one of the prebends of Dunbar appropriated to the Chapel Royal in 1501 (*Reg. Cap. Reg. Striv.*, p. 14). The notorious 'Mr. Kello' was incumbent of Spott after the Reformation.

Stantoun. See *Petcokkys, infra.*

Panschell. Penshiel, in the Lammermuirs, to the extreme south of the parish of Whittingehame. The chapel there appears in a charter of 1291 which records the settlement of a controversy between Melrose and Patrick de Lemonktoun, rector of Dunbar, regarding teinds and the destruction of certain houses which the said rector declared ought to belong to his

church by reason of the chapel of Panneschelys (*Melros*, II, p. 353). It was evidently at that time a chapel in an outlying part of the parish of Dunbar. Its site is marked on the O.S. map.

Hathyrvyk. Hedderwick is near Belton to the S.W. of Dunbar. Miller, following Chalmers' *Caledonia*, declares that ' when Hetherwick was made a distinct parish, it was called Beltoun, which is the name of two villages in the neighbourhood and of the estate. At the Reformation this parish was annexed to Dunbar ' (*History of Dunbar*, p. 189, footnote). It would appear, however, that Hedderwick was merely the site of a parochial chapel and that it was never separated from the parish of Dunbar. See *Beltoun*, *infra*.

Lintoun. A parish to the E. of Dunbar, later called Hauch and now known as Prestonkirk. It is to be distinguished from Linton in Teviotdale (in the diocese of Glasgow) and from Linton-Roderick, now West Linton, in Peebles-shire. William, parson of Linton, is a witness, *a.* 1188 (*R.P.S.A.*, p. 45). The church was dedicated by Bishop David de Bernham in 1241 (Lockhart, *Ch. of Scotland in Thirteenth Cent.*, p. 47). Richard, parson of Linton in the sheriffdom of Edinburgh, appears in 1296 (*Rot. Scot.*, I, p. 25). In 1324, the rectory was held by a youth of twenty, Master Thomas de Gordon, who, in the same year, was additionally provided to a canonry of Moray (*C.P.R.*, II, p. 236). The later rectors of Linton, e.g. Mr. Patrick Hepburn, who is a witness on 11 Feb. 1462-63 (*H.M.C. Rep. Milne Home MSS.*, p. 261), were prebendaries of the collegiate church. A crown charter to Patrick de Hepburn, on 20 Dec. 1451, mentions merely the ' advocatio ' of the church of Lyntoun (*R.M.S.*, II, 513); but another crown charter granted to Adam Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, on 27 Aug. 1511, speaks of the ' advocatio etc. ecclesie de Hauch nuncupate prebende de Lintoun ' (*Ibid.*, 3635). Master George Hepburn, ' rector de Hauch alias Lintonkirk,' appears on 27 July 1577 (*R.M.S.*, IV, 2696). The church of Linton is valued in an early roll of benefices at 100 merks (*R.P.S.A.*, p. 30) and at £93, 16s. 8d. in another roll of the thirteenth century (*Coldingham*, p. cix); whereas, in a fifteenth-century roll, the ' rectoria,' i.e. the prebend, figures at £20 (Bisset, *Rolment of Courtis*, II, p. 8). A chaplainry of St. John Baptist was founded in the church on 23 July 1545 (*Laing Chs.*, 499).

Duns. A parish in Berwickshire. Master Henry de le Monchtun is mentioned as rector of Duns in thirteenth-century records (*Coldstream*, 14; *Rot. Scot.*, I, p. 25 (the year 1296)); and Patrick, parson of Duns, witnesses charters of the same period (*Coldstream*, 15, p. 47). The later rectors mentioned, e.g. George de Newtoune, who appears in 1427 (*G.R.H. Chs.*, 275), and Master Michael Ker, whose name occurs in 1488 and 1490 (*R.M.S.*, II, 1836, 2210), were probably but not certainly prebendaries of the collegiate church. Duns, however, was one of the prebends appro-

priated to the Chapel Royal in 1501 (*Reg. Cap. Reg. Striv.*, p. 14); and a charter of 20 Jan. 1528-29 mentions Mr. Patrick Muriesone, curate of Duns, and Sir John Clerk, vicar-pensioner (*H.M.C. Rep. Milne Home MSS.*, p. 36). On 15 Nov. 1544, Archibald Hume is presented by the Queen to the rectory of Duns (*R.M.S.*, III, 972); he was probably a prebendary of the Chapel Royal. This church was valued at 110 merks (*R.P.S.A.*, p. 31) and (otherwise) at £80 (*Coldingham*, p. cx). The rectory is valued at £10 in the fifteenth century (Bisset, *Rolment of Courtis*, II, p. 8).

Cherynsyd. Chirnside, a parish in Berwickshire. The church was dedicated by Bishop David de Bernham on 10 April 1242 (Lockhart, *op. cit.*, p. 49). One of its earlier rectors, Sir Patrick de le Mocstun, witnesses charters of Patrick, Earl of Dunbar (*Coldstream*, 1, 2, 9), while William de Blida, parson of Chirnside, appears in 1296 (*Rot. Scot.*, I, p. 26). James Flemyng, mentioned as rector in 1476 (*R.M.S.*, II, 1413), and Master Abraham Crichton, who appears as rector on 6 May 1531 (*Ibid.*, 1017) and as parson 14 Aug. 1536 (*H.M.C. Rep. XII, App., Pt. VIII*, p. 126), were probably prebendaries of Dunbar; and although crown charters to successive Humes of the lands of Chirnside, e.g. 4 Feb. 1451-52, 11 Jan. 1483-84 (*R.M.S.*, II, 525, 1572) mention merely the patronage of the church of Chirnside, a crown charter of 4 Jan. 1489-90 to Alexander Hume grants the lands of Chirnside 'unacum donatione et patronagio ecclesie de Chirnside unius prebendarum ecclesie collegiate de Dunbar' (*Ibid.*, 1914). The church of Chirnside is assessed at 50 merks (*R.P.S.A.*, p. 31) and £40, 0s. 14d. (*sic*) (*Coldingham*, p. cx); and the rectory (i.e. the prebend) at £4 (Bisset, *op. cit.*, p. 8). It is to be noted that there was also a prebend of Chirnside in the collegiate church of Dunglass. On 5 Aug. 1450, Sir Alexander Hume, lord of Hume, granted to Dunglass four husbandlands and other endowments in Chirnside (*H.M.C. Rep. XII, App., Pt. VIII*, p. 126); and, according to a record of 13 June 1481, whereby Alexander, Lord Hume, made an agreement with the provost and prebendaries fixing the prebends of Dunglass, the prebend of Chirnside was to be of the value of twenty merks (*G.R.H. Chs.*, 496).

Decanus. The deanery is valued at £13, 6s. 8d (Bisset, *op. cit.*, p. 8). Columba de Dunbar, later Bishop of Moray, is mentioned as holding this office in 1413 (*C.P.R.*, Petitions, I, p. 545); and other deans were Robert Young, who appears in the present charter; Adam Hepburn, who succeeded Young, at the age of twenty-one in 1441 (*C.P.R.*, IX, p. 72) and is mentioned in 1453 (*Melros*, II, 554); Master Archibald Whitelaw, who appears frequently between 31 Jan. 1466-67 and 4 May 1471 (*R.M.S.*, II, 900 *seq.*; *C.P.R.*, XII, p. 579); Master Alexander Giffert, in 1493 (*R.M.S.*, II, 2154); and Alexander Stewart, dean of Dunbar and postulate of Moray, in 1515-16 (*A.D.C.*, xxvi, f. 172).

Archipresbyter. See Introduction. The archpriestship is valued at

£8 (Bisset, *op. cit.*, p. 8). The office was held by Robert Young (*q.v. supra*); John Otterburn, mentioned 22 Aug. 1450 (*R.M.S.*, II, 4666; also *N. Durham*, CCCXXIX); and, on 29 May 1542, Master Robert Waltersoun, provost of Bothans, was presented to the archpriestship in succession to Sir James Leirmonth (*R.S.S.*, II, 4666)—by this time, however, it was appropriated to the Chapel Royal along with other (above-mentioned) prebends of Dunbar.

Octo canonici simplices prebendas simplices habentes sacerdotales. This phrase illustrates the point made by Prof. A. Hamilton Thompson: 'An important distinction, frequently misunderstood, is the true distinction between the terms "canon" and "prebendary". . . . A prebend . . . is the income which a canon receives as a consequence of his admission to membership of a chapter. . . . It was possible, however, for a canon to be temporarily without a prebend' (Notes on Secular Canons, *Archaeol. Journal*, LXXIV, pp. 148-49).

In habitu decenti canonicorum secularium. The vestments of the clergy of collegiate churches are prescribed in detail in later foundations, e.g. Semple (*R.E.G.*, II, 483) and Restalrig (*C.C.M.*, p. 286). The foundation-charter of St. Mary Ottery, Devon (Jan. 1337-38), prescribes the dress of the canons and others, with the stipulation that vicars who fail to provide themselves 'de habitu honesto' will be warned to do so within fifteen days and, on further default, will have a vestment provided at the expense of their portion (Oliver, *Mon. Dioc. Exon.*, p. 266). Cf. A. Hamilton Thompson, *History of Hospital and New College, Leicester*, p. 15, footnote.

Capellanus autem archipresbyteri . . . excusationem habeat occupatus. The phrase 'capellanus . . . archipresbyteri' occurs in all the versions and implies that the archpriest will have a substitute charged not only with the duties of the choir but with those of the parochial cure of souls. Cf. the foundation-charter of Biggar, where the eighth prebendary, who is to be vicar-pensioner, will reside, sing and perform divine service with the other prebendaries except when occupied with the cure of the church and the administration of the sacraments to the parishioners (*Spalding Club Misc.*, V, p. 301). A similar provision occurs in the foundation-charter of St. Mary Ottery, Devon (Jan. 1337-38) (Oliver, *op. cit.*, p. 266).

Ad officium decani spectat . . . ordinariam jurisdictioncm habere. Cf. the foundation-charter of Tain, where the provost 'habebit plenam jurisdictionem ordinariam in omnibus et per omnia in canonicos et reliquas undecim personas. . . .' (*R.M.S.*, MS. vol. X, 109); likewise, the provost of Lincluden was to have ordinary jurisdiction over the college (*G.R.H Vat. Trans.*, I, p. 378 *seq.*).

Ad altare B.V.M. in nave dicte ecclesie de novo constructum. This, in

other words, was to be the parochial altar. A similar arrangement—in somewhat different circumstances—was made for the parishioners in the collegiate church of Dalkeith (*C.C.M.*, p. cxvii). The position of the Lady altar is noteworthy.

Officiarii ecclesie. The word ' officiarii ' presents difficulties as no parallel usage can be found. The sense seems to require a word meaning ' offices ' or ' posts.'

Canonico prebendario de Dumbar. The prebendary of Dunbar, like his colleagues, is sometimes described as ' rector of Dunbar,' e.g. in 1438, David Carnach, M.A., dean of Brechin, canon of Dunkeld and Aberdeen, is appointed to a canonry of Dunbar ' with the prebend called the rectory therein ' (*C.P.R.*, IX, p. 11) ; and Master Malcolm Drummond, who is a witness on 23 March 1477-78 (*H.M.C. Rep. XII, App., Pt. VIII*, p. 167), and Master Robert Culquhone, who appears 10 Dec. 1535 (*G.R.H. Charters*, 1118), are both entitled ' rector of Dunbar ' and were evidently holders of this prebend. It appears to be this benefice which is called the ' sacerdotal prebend ' (although all the prebends are so-called in the present charter), perhaps to distinguish it from the archpriestship with its cure of souls. John Mair is to be collated to this prebend, 1 June 1450 (*C.P.R.*, X, p. 69). The rectory of Dunbar was appropriated to the Chapel Royal in 1501 (*Reg. Cap. Reg. Striv.*, p. 14).

Canonico prebendario de Pynkartoun. Pinkerton lies to the S.E of Dunbar. Miller declares that the chapel (of Pinkerton) stood at the farm town of Little Pinkerton (*History of Dunbar*, p. 188, footnote) ; but there is no indication in the present charter that it was the site of one of the chapels associated with the parish church of Dunbar. Gilbert Otterburn, rector (i.e. prebendary) of Pinkerton, appears in 1476 (*H.M.C. Rep. XII, App., Pt. VIII*, p. 177) ; John Fleming, ' rector,' in 1478 (*R.M.S.*, II, 1382) ; and Sir Alexander Fleming, ' prebendary,' on 17 Dec. 1540 (*R.S.S.*, II, 3755). The prebend is valued at £5, 6s. 8d. (Bisset, *op. cit.*, p. 8). It was one of the prebends appropriated to the Chapel Royal (*ut supra*). The collegiate church of Dunglass, according to its foundation-charter, was also to derive an endowment from Pinkerton (*H.M.C. Rep. XII, App., Pt. VIII*, p. 124).

Canonico prebendario de Spott. See *supra.*

Canonico prebendario de Beltoun. Beltoun lies to the S.W. of Dunbar, not far from Hedderwick (*q.v. supra*). Among the prebendaries was William Preston, mentioned on 6 July 1524 (*R.M.S.*, II, 567), 2 Jan. 1530-31 (*H.M.C. Rep. XII, App., Pt. VIII*, p. 157) and, as Master William Prestoun, one of the lords of Council, 24 July 1535 (*Cambuskenneth*, p. 2). The ' rectory ' was valued at £4 (Bisset, *op. cit.*, p. 8) ; it was annexed to the Chapel Royal in 1501 (*ut supra*).

Canonico prebendario de Petcokkys. Pitcox lies S.S.W. of Dunbar, about a mile from Stenton. The chapel there was replaced by the parish church built at Stenton in 1561 (*Hist. Mon. Comm. Rep.* (*East Lothian*), 130). A crown charter of 27 Aug. 1511, to the Earl of Bothwell, refers to ' terra de Pitcokkis cum ecclesia et prebenda earundem ' (*R.M.S.*, II, 3635). Several prebendaries or ' rectors ' of Pitcox are mentioned, e.g. Thomas Lauder, canon of Aberdeen and vicar of Erskine (1432) (*C.P.R.*, VIII, p. 407); George Lydel (1462) (*Ibid.*, XI, p. 457); William Borthwick, witness, 9 May 1491 (*R.M.S.*, II, 2039); Sir John White, mentioned 22 April 1524, and later (*Exch. Rolls*, XV, pp. 84, 194, 282); Master Patrick Cockburn, who appears, 13 Feb. 1537-38 (*Coldstream*, p. 86). The ' rectory ' is valued at fifty-three shillings and fourpence (Bisset, *loc. cit.*).

Ceteri redditus et proventus . . . convertantur in usus canonicos residentium ita quod . . . reddatur bis in anno. This fund was analogous to the *communia* of cathedral chapters, which was a relic of the practice (probably monastic in its origin) of paying the incomes of the canons—their prebends—out of a common fund. Here a biennial distribution of the surplus income of the church and its annexed chapels is to be made by way of supplement to the canons; but, as appears in a succeeding clause, the upkeep of the choir of the collegiate church is also to be made a charge on this common fund. In a charter of 13 June 1481, Alexander, Lord Hume, patron of the collegiate church of Dunglass, and the provost and prebendaries promulgate an arrangement whereby the prebends are to be fixed and a sum of forty-nine merks set aside for common uses, this sum to be received yearly by one of the prebendaries elected by the patron, provost and prebendaries as treasurer and accounted for to them and to be used primarily for supplementing the prebends in the event of war or other cause of deficiency, for the preservation and repair of the church, ringing the bells, playing the organ, supplying and repairing books and windows, finding wax, bread and wine and other things necessary for divine service (*G.R.H. Chs.*, 496). In other cases, e.g. Trinity College, the common fund was to be used to provide for the daily necessities of the church and the sacrist was to give an account of it four times a year (*C.C.M.*, p. 66). The *bursa*, mentioned as one of the collegiate features of Restalrig in the papal bull of 1487, was probably intended to indicate a common fund (*C.C.M.*, p. 274).

Non residentes nihill percipiant. Cf. the regulation of Geoffrey, Bishop of Dunkeld (1236-49), that none but canons continuously resident should share in the *communiae canonicorum* (Dowden, *Bishops*, p. 55).

Archipresbyter ad confectionem crismatis sicut ceteri rectores. . . . I have elsewhere (*Recs. Scottish Ch. Hist. Soc.*, VI, p. 208) pointed out that ' this is the only indication in a Scottish charter that attendance at a

synod was, *inter alia*, for the purpose of receiving chrism. Cf. Imbart de la Tour, *Les paroisses rurales dans l'ancienne France*, p. 84.'

Statuimus . . . quod capitulum . . . celebretur in quo . . . corrigatur. A weekly chapter is one of the regulations at the collegiate church of Cullen (Cramond, *Church etc. of Cullen*, p. 49). The proceedings of the chapter of Trinity College show that the misconduct of the prebendaries and bedesmen there was investigated and punished (*e.g. C.C.M.*, p. 214); and when St. Mary's, Haddington, was given collegiate rights, among these was the power to hold chapters to which choristers and others could be cited (*Formulare*, 472). Only in the case of Trinity College, St. Nicholas', Aberdeen, and, in a lesser degree, Lincluden, have the records of chapters to any extent survived.

Tabula scribatur ordo officiantium. It is enacted of the weekly chapter at Cullen that ' semper in illo capitulo tabulant inter se ebdomadarium pro omnibus officiis chori et missis ordinariis ' (Cramond, *op. cit.*, p. 49). An instance of the drawing up of a *tabula* for the celebration of masses in Glasgow Cathedral appears in a record of 18 June 1446 (*R.E.G.*, II, 348).

Quod obitus illius scribatur in martilogio eorum . . . et inperpetuum in eorum capitulo pro tempore legatur semel in anno. See note in *Inchcolm*, p. 176. The martyrology or obit-book of Melrose is mentioned in 1333 (*Melros*, II, 444); and a list of obits of the benefactors of the preceptory of St. Anthony, Leith, dated 1526, is printed, *Bannatyne Misc.*, II, p. 298 *seq.* A *Kalendarium Insigne; Anniversaria Ecclesie Aberdonensis*, in other words, a Calendar of Saints' Days coupled with a list of anniversaries or obits, appears, *R.E.A.*, II, p. 2 *seq.*, and other similar lists, *Ibid.*, pp. 200 *seq.*, 207 *seq.* The custom of reading the name in chapter has monastic parallels and is probably of monastic origin; it is mentioned e.g. in a letter of fraternity by the prior of the Carmelites of Irvine in favour of William Greyrson and his spouse, Egidia, 24 Aug. 1426 (*Muns. Burgh of Irvine*, 5).

Volumus . . . quod dicti decanus et capitulum habeant commune sigillum in arcam communem clausum . . . ob utilitatem et necessitatem aliquas emergentes. A common seal and chest are indicated as two of the collegiate *insignia* of Restalrig in a papal bull of 1487 (*C.C.M.*, p. 273). The common seal, as contrasted with the personal seals of the members of the college, was necessary for authenticating capitular transactions and, in particular, those concerning the church's property and endowments. At Lincluden, in 1559, the provost had taken the college's seal from its custodian, John Rig, who ' protestit that quhatevir was selit with the said seill fra that houre furtht suld have na place nor sall stand till ony effect,' the insinuation evidently being that the provost might use it for his own benefit to alienate the college's lands; and it was thereafter decided that no charter affecting their lands should be sealed with the common seal unless the

transaction was ratified by the provost and all the prebendaries assembled in chapter (McDowall, *Reg. Bk. of Lincluden*, pp. 124, 128). The purpose of a common chest was not merely the custody of the seal but of records, valuables and money. At New College, Leicester, there were to be three chests, each with three keys, which were to be kept respectively by the dean, provost and sacrist. One of the chests was to contain the muniments and money received for copes, the second jewels and relics, and the third books belonging to the chapter in common. The muniments and deeds concerning the church were to be exhibited to no stranger unless there was great and urgent necessity (A. Hamilton Thompson, *Hist. of Hospital and New College, Leicester*, pp. 72-73).

In festo beati Matthei apostoli. St. Matthew's Day is 21 September.

Anno . . . consecrationis nostre xxvii^{mo}. Cf. Dowden, *Bishops*, p. 30.

LETTERS

FROM JOHN, SECOND EARL OF LAUDERDALE, TO JOHN, SECOND EARL OF TWEEDDALE, AND OTHERS

Edited by

HENRY M. PATON

INTRODUCTION

The present Collection of Letters, here published for the first time, came into the possession of Mr. Thomas Yule, W.S., Edinburgh, in 1911 on the death of his partner, Mr. John Mackenzie, W.S. (of Messrs. J. W. & J. Mackenzie, W.S.), who bequeathed these and other papers and MSS. to him. Mr. Mackenzie had inherited them from his father, Mr. John Whitefoord Mackenzie, W.S., a well-known antiquary and book collector, who was an active member of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and one of its Vice-Presidents. Mr. Yule, who himself is one of that Society's Vice-Presidents, and a diligent student of early Scottish documents, very kindly offered these letters to the Scottish History Society for publication, on the ground that they form a useful supplement to various other collections of Lauderdale Correspondence which have from time to time appeared in print.

Accompanying the originals is an almost perfect transcript of each letter, made by Mr. Alexander Macdonald, Keeper of the Register of Deeds in H.M. General Register House till about 1850.

There are 95 letters in all, of which 79 cover the years 1668 to 1670. Seventy at least of the letters are addressed from Lauderdale to the Earl of Tweeddale, and probably two others (Nos. 70 and 73). Three more are also directed to him in conjunction with other persons (Nos. 17, 19 and 60). Nine letters are addressed from Lauderdale to Sir Robert Murray (or Moray), along with two directed jointly to him and Tweeddale; and there are six letters from Moray to Tweeddale (Nos. 4, 9, 85, 88, 89 and 90). All

Lauderdale's letters are holograph, with one exception (No. 87), and very rarely signed. Many of them have been sealed with the Earl's signet engraved with the family arms. As to the handwriting, I disagree with Dr. Airy's differentiation between that of Lauderdale and Sir Robert Moray. He characterises the former as 'bold, rather coarse and slovenly,' while describing the latter as a 'beautiful modern hand, almost too facile for perfect ease of reading.'[1] Lauderdale's hand is that of a slow writer, shakily painstaking but sufficiently clear, and he keeps a regular line. Moray's writing is hurried and careless, and far removed from clarity. It is rather amusing to find Moray siding with King Charles in criticising Lauderdale's penmanship.[2]

The Earl's London house was in Highgate, the site being now occupied by Waterlow Park. Only five, however, of the letters in this collection are addressed from Highgate (Nos. 7, 8, 10, 28 and 78). For a short time (Oct. 1668 to Feb. 1669), during a critical period in domestic affairs, Lauderdale and his household resided somewhere in Charing Cross; and Letters 30, 32, 44-52 and 63 emanate from that quarter. The majority of the others are despatched from Whitehall, while the Earl was in attendance on his 'Master.' Reference is made in Letter 30 to Archbishop Sharp's dining at Highgate about the end of October 1668; only one, of course, of the many occasions on which they met there.[3]

Lauderdale's friendship with John, Earl of Tweeddale, one of the two principal correspondents, was rendered more secure when the latter lent his aid to the release of Lauderdale from his long imprisonment at the hands of the Cromwellian party. Letters 1 and 2 relate to these

[1] *The Lauderdale Papers*, ed. by Dr. Osmund Airy, I, xiii., xiv.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, 136.
[3] Cf. Stirton, *Household Book of Archbishop Sharpe.*

endeavours. He was released from Windsor Castle in March 1660, and a gift made to him under the privy seal in May 1661 of the estates of Swinton, etc., refers to the good services of his father and grandfather, and to his own affection and adherence to the King until the defeat at Worcester, after which he suffered forfeiture and imprisonment and was 'transported divers times from prison to prison, and with much patience, cheerfulness and courage endured in his person and estate all the degrees, kinds and extremities of misery which could be expected from a cruel and implacable enemy to loyalty and faithfulness.' Tweeddale became President of the Scottish Privy Council in July 1661, but for an excess of humaneness was himself imprisoned in September, and had to invoke the good offices of Lauderdale for his reinstatement in June 1662. During the period principally covered by these letters, he, with the Earl of Kincardine and Sir Robert Moray, exercised no inconsiderable part in the administration of Scotland, and he did what he could to mitigate the severity of the Government measures towards the nonconformist clergy. As can be seen from many of the letters, and in Airy's volumes (e.g. II, pp. 11, 76, 91), Lauderdale's sobriquet for his friend was 'Sir Simon,' generally condensed to 'SS.' From the number of letters from Tweeddale to Lauderdale contained in Airy's Collection it was expected that the present series would form a counterpart to them, but strangely enough there are only a few that have direct relation to the letters here printed. These are noted in the text.

Tweeddale's eldest son and heir, John, Lord Yester, came into intimate relationship with Lauderdale (whose pet name for him in these letters is *Mon fils*) by marrying his only daughter, Mary, on 11th December 1666. He was 21 years of age, and she was ?. The wedding was 'graced' by the presence of the Merry Monarch; but the bride

failed to fascinate an unfrocked French monk who happened on the scene, his verdict being that ' she is very homely and like a monkey, clothed with gold and silver.' Of the bridegroom he opined that ' he seemeth to deserve such a wife and no more.' Regarding the results of this (so far as is known) altogether happy marriage [1] this Correspondence has considerable value, in that it furnishes more details about Lauderdale's grandchildren than can be found in *The Scots Peerage* or other printed sources. The eldest son, Charles (whom Lauderdale refers to affectionately as ' Little man ') was by November 1668 ' a very good companion ' (Letter 31), and as his successor was born a month later, the date of Charles's birth must lie between August and December 1667. Interesting and amusing details about his attack of smallpox are given in Letters 45, 46 and 52. Regarding his younger brother, John, the proud grandfather writes on 15 December 1668 : ' *Nostre fille* was safe brought to bed on Sunday last 13 about noon of another great boy, bigger than the last was, yea I swear bigger than my Lord Cavendish's boy who is 3 months old ' (Letter 42). His baptism, intended for 27 December 1668 (Letter 44), was postponed until 21 Jan. 1669 (Letter 53A). Reference is made in Letter 93 to another child expected (May 1672), and this may have been William (afterwards of Newhall) or Jean (afterwards Countess of Rothes). The contributor of the article ' Tweeddale ' in *The Scots Peerage* seems to have mixed things up a bit, by misinterpreting Tweeddale's Letter to Lauderdale dated 15 December 1670.[2]

First he blunders by attributing the letter to Lord Yester, whereas it was written by his father the Earl. Then definitely Jean, whose birth he assigns to ' before 15 December 1670,' was Tweeddale's daughter, and must

[1] See Letters 9 and 10 for a full character sketch of both parties.

[2] Printed in Airy, vol. ii. p. 209.

have been born about 1665 (between Alexander and Gilbert), and the terms in which she is referred to in the letter would then fit quite well. Anne also therein mentioned as being 'grown a pleasant and beautiful child' was assuredly also Tweeddale's daughter, and was probably born *circa* 1653-54. Lord Yester's daughters Anne and Jean were both born *after* 1670, as is clear from the other particulars already given about the issue of that marriage, and as their father was tutor and administrator of law to them in December 1689.[1] The fact is that the two generations were in this case running concurrently; and the birth of Tweeddale's son Gilbert is referred to in Letter 31, with Lauderdale's comment in Letter 34 on the choice of name.

Lord Yester and his wife went home to Yester between the end of March and beginning of July 1669, but he was back in London by the end of August (Letters 69, 71, 78). Lord Tweeddale and his Lady were on their way to London in April 1670, while Lauderdale played two hours of an evening with their grandchildren (Letters 81, 82, 83).

Lauderdale's other principal correspondent, Sir Robert Moray, was also a friend of long standing. At the Restoration, in the capacity of Lord Justice Clerk, he was appointed a member of the Scottish Privy Council; and though he appeared on none of its sederunts until June 1667, he took an active part in its London section. The correspondence here printed naturally relates to the period after his return to Scotland. Lauderdale's pseudonym for him is MR, though he sometimes refers to him as Robin Moray. The very adequate biography of him by the late Alexander Robertson, edited by Dr. H. W. Meikle, deals exhaustively with his career at this period (chap. vii.). Reference is made in Letter 32 to his scientific pursuits; many relate to

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1 *Reg. of Deeds*, Durie Office, vol. 82, p. 18.

his work in Scotland, and in connection with the proposed Union with England. Little is disclosed of the weakening of the friendship, which it is alleged practically broke off in 1670; relations seem to be cordial enough as late as September of that year, though ultimately the breach became irreparable.

There is no need to recapitulate here the observations made by various writers regarding Lauderdale's career, character and policy. We are fortunate, in the years covered by these letters, to be dealing with a period before he succumbed to baneful influences and began to disintegrate, thereby alienating the confidence and affection of former friends, principally the two mentioned above, with whom he had taken sweet counsel for so many years. Though Letter 92 indicates something of coolness with Tweeddale, it is pleasing to find this Correspondence winding up with thanks to him for congratulations on the elevation to a dukedom, and a blessing to the family. One or two features are singled out for sympathetic attention, which may help to modify the judgment of extremists. Great assistance has been derived from Mr. W. C. Mackenzie's *Life and Times of John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale* (London, 1923).

It has been stated that Lauderdale's relations with his first wife were far from amicable for a long period prior to her death in 1671. Mackenzie, however (p. 307), says 'there is no reason to suppose that before her husband fell under the influence of Lady Dysart his relations with his wife were other than harmonious.' From quite a number of the present letters it is abundantly clear that the Earl entertained good feeling towards her till about two years before her decease. His solicitude for her appears particularly during a spate of domestic troubles in the winter of 1668-69 (Letters 37, 44-53), towards the end of which he makes amusing reflections on the 'trouble-

some government he was never shaped for ' to which he had been subjected (Letter 46). He was careful to withhold from her and his daughter, in their weakness, any news that would retard recovery. When convalescent, ' Grandmother ' has visits from the ' Little man ' (Letter 52) ; and in August 1669 the household at Highgate are flourishing (Letter 77).

In January 1669 Elizabeth, Countess of Dysart, suffered double bereavement by the death of her husband and sister ; and Lauderdale went once or twice to condole with her (Letters 52, 53, 56).[1] The only further reference to Lady Dysart is in September 1670, when the Earl met her at Huntingdon (Letter 84).

Towards the Covenanters he is seen to pursue the policy traditionally assigned to him ; evidently rather from the dominating passions of subservience to his ' Master ' and pride of power than from innate antipathy to the cause they sponsored. He desired to coerce the clergy into conformity for the safety of their skin and the smoother working of the machinery of State ; and when they proved recalcitrant, and especially those who went the length of ' conventicling,' his vocabulary knew no bounds (Letters 19, 63, 65, 69, 75, 86). He rejoices at his wife's ' keeping the kirk ' (Letter 18 : she was then in Scotland), and wishes that all would follow her example. His error lay in allowing the degenerate councillors in Scotland (for whom he had nothing but contempt) too free a hand to wreak their will on a loyal and law-abiding people.

Quite a number of letters deal in more or less detail with the project for a Union between England and Scotland, which arose on this occasion through efforts to adjust trade relations between the two countries. The question of trade is mentioned in Letters 12, 17, 26 and 31 ; and by

[1] In *The Scots Peerage*, article ' Dysart,' Catherine's death is curiously assigned to February 1670, 13 months later.

November 1668 (Letter 33) that ' worke our Master is much set upon ' (Letter 38) was well begun. The question of the proportion of peers came up (Letter 42); a ' cabal ' is forming against the Union (Letter 71); and Letters 78-89 relate to Lauderdale's visits to Scotland as King's Commissioner to Parliament, his return to London and the resultant conversations there. Incidentally he had some difficulty in adjusting the matter of accommodation in Holyrood (Letters 72, 73); he went thither in a ' rich coache ' (Letter 76); and got something towards his expenses, though less than he would like (Letter 77).

There is nothing like a bundle of correspondence for introducing one to the ' innards ' of history, and nothing so baffling as the attempt to solve the all too frequent obscure allusions which to the writers were transparently clear. By means of footnotes the annotator has done his best to smooth the reader's way.

HENRY M. PATON.

THE LAUDERDALE LETTERS

I. JOHN, 2ND EARL OF LAUDERDALE, TO JOHN, 2ND EARL OF TWEEDDALE.

WINDSOR CASTLE [1659].

MY LORD,—Thogh my thankes be very insignificant yet give me leave to expres my truc sence of your Lordships care in my concerns, and specially for indeavoring to engage my Lord Lambert,[1] for there is none to whom I wold so willingly owe ane obligation. His care formerly to obtaine my libertie I doe with great thankfullnes acknowledge; and thogh it had not the succes he did desire, yet the favor was every whitt as great.

As for that which your Lordships advises in his name, give me leave to offer my thoghts and submitt them to his & your direction. It is true to be banisht is much more desirable then to be put to the severe & ugly want I am in in prison; but me thinkes it is somewhat strange for one that hath so faire a plea for the remnant of a poore antient estate, to beg the favor to be utterly banisht from it & his countrey. Nor indeed am I very free to be the carver to my self of a punishment which in all ages hath been lookt on as nixt to death. To submitt to what the Lord shall incline their hearts to doe with me is one thing, and to desire it is another. Give me leave therfore to offer if I may not as well petition the Councell, that wheras I have lyen in prison so long, depryved of my estate & of all liveliehood of it, and wheras in the late generall order for paying fines I did at the day tender all that was requyred and it was not accepted, I am now bold to make ane address to their Lordships, finding by the news booke that some things of publick concern to

[1] Major-Gen. John Lambert, member of the Council of State and Committee of Safety, 1659; afterwards deprived of his commands and imprisoned in the Tower.

the settlement of Scotland is committed to them. My humble desire then to be, that they wold consider my case and of some way of my releif as to my person & poore fortune, and in the meane time that they wold allow me some maintenance. This is the summe of what occurres to me. It is rationall for me to ask my owne; it is absolutely necessare that I have a subsistance. Now the Councell if they please may either doe something in it or appoint it to be reported to the house, and so all scruples wilbe removed. If your Lordship will doe me the favor to speake with my Lord Lambert & Warieston[1] betwixt this and Monday at noone, and write your minde to me on Monday, sending your letter to the Windsor coach at the Red Lyon in Fleet Street on Monday against noone, it will infallibly come to me that night, and I shall not faile to send you such a Petition as you shall appoint against Twesday early. And if yow thinke fitt I shall also then write to my Lord Lambert & Warieston[1] (of the kindenes of the last I have no doubt at all). Upon the receaving your Lordships answer I shall send my man to attend yow with my petition. I have acquainted my Lord Crafurd[2] to night & shall acquaint my Lord Sinclare[3] tomorrow. Pardon this trouble & beleev me to be most sensible of your favor and sincerely, My Lord, Your Lordships most affectionat humble servant, LAUDERDAILL.
'Fryday very late.' (Endorsed) 'For the right Honorable the Earle of Tweeddale, at London.'

II. SAME TO SAME.

WINDSOR CASTLE [1659].

I have receivcd your Lordships letter, & can but returne my empty yet heartie thankes for your kindenes & care.

[1] Sir Arch. Johnston of Wariston, Lord Clerk Register, also member of Council of State, etc.

[2] John, 17th Earl of Crawford, taken prisoner by the Protector, but restored in 1660 to the office of Lord High Treasurer; resigned in 1663.

[3] John, 9th Lord Sinclair, taken prisoner at Worcester and imprisoned in Windsor Castle till March 1660.

It is not my custome to value the indeavors of freinds by the succes. Duety is ours, succes belongs onely to Gods disposall, to whom I humbly recommend what ever may concern me. Be pleas'd to receave my petition; I have obeyd the advice sent me & made it as generall as can be. This day I went 6 miles by the Governors permission, & spoke with Sir James Harrington[1] (who is my wifes kinsman). His advice was the samc & he promised his concurrence, onely he did desire not to present my petition. I told him your Lordship wold take care for that. His feare was that the Councell wold not report it. But since I came from him I finde one argument that may make it rationally the Councells worke, for by the Prive Seale (which the bearer will shew your Lordship) yow will see my allowance was at first payable out of the Councells contingencies, and was transferred to the Exchequer for more certaine payment.[2] Besides I stand originally committed prisoner by the Councell of State, & it seems reasonable that they see to the maintenance of their prisoner.

I humbly thanke your Lordship for your speaking with Sir Henry Vane[3]; if yow please yow may returne him my thankes, and then by your direction I shall write to him or not as yow see cause. It is now so late and I am so wearie that I cannot so much as write to my Lord Warieston, but I hope your Lordship will supply that defect; and I hope he knowes me better then to stand on ceremonies. The bearer hath order to attend your Lordships commands, & to give me a daily account. 'Monday late.' (Endorsed as in preceding.)

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[1] 3rd Baronet, of Ridlington, Rutland, one of the commissioners for trying King Charles I. and excepted from pardon, 1661; kinship with Lauderdale's wife not very close.

[2] Debts on Lauderdale's forfeited estates amounted to nearly £34,000, and besides the allowance granted by the Council to his wife he was in receipt of £5 weekly from Parliament 'out of the Exchequer.'

[3] Naval and Foreign Minister of Richard Cromwell's government; executed on Tower Hill, 1662.

DRAFT REPLY TO ABOVE, BY TWEEDDALE
(*written on back*).

Soe soone as Mr Maitland eam to me I went and fund My Lord Lambert. He and my Lord Warestone & I went togither. I gave him your petitione & he was very weal satisfyed therwith. He was very partieular to be informed, & desired to know if this Parliament had given any alowanee formerly. I told him ther was bot a littel time of ther sitting after the estaits wer sequestrat, & I supposed you mead then very hard shifts. He did not eonceave the privy seal or any thing in [? it] wold be usful, bot in short he did expres that sence of your eonditione as I humbly eoneeave it is fitt yow writt to him. I have lodged the petitione in his hand to present it, & he will tak eayr of it. He never said soe mueh to me, bot the sueees was sutable to my desirs. We remembered the eondition of your estait & fyn, and when oeeasione offers you wold aply your self to Warestoune to mind it & give him a new impressione. My Lord Lambert asked me if My Lord Craford had sent any petitione. I told him not, bot I supposd he wold. He said it wold possibly be thought he scrupeled ane adres, and besids sinee yours most be reported to the hous it wer best all should be reported together, els thers should be lost; wherefor your Lordship wold hasten their dispateh or resolutione, sinee he hes thought fitt to stay a day or two for them. I purpos to speak Sir Henry Wayn & give you ane account. I have also spok with my Lord Flectwood,[1] and sineerly if I thought my stay eould now signify to you I should not part till you had a full returne; bot having put your petitione in a hand whieh I am confident will mak the best of it & neids littel remembring any thing he undertaks, I shal tak my leave, and desir wherin I can be usful you will lett me heir and eommand. If your Lordship

[1] Charles, Lord Fleetwood, member of Cromwell's House of Lords, and Commander-in-Chief, 1659; at the Restoration incapacitated for life from holding office.

pleas it will be very fitt you writt also to Sir Henry Wayn and your other frinds whom I know not.

III. SAME TO SAME.

WHITEHALL, 19 *July* 1664.

MY DEARE LORD: Thogh his Majesties sicknes & my constant attendance heir for 3 weeks might justly enough excuse me for not answering your queries sooner in relation to my Nephews[1] busines, yet there was another cause, for I had left your letter at Highgate which I could not come at untill I went thither on Saterday. And now receave this full answer. To your first, thogh 40 chalders victuall be a small provision with so great a debt, yet I am content, but I hope his mother will thinke it reasonable that when God calls her mother (whose life I wish may be long) that her joynture divide, seing my nephew takes all the debt. To the 2d., I think it reasonable that my sister in law be releived of the debt when she infefts my nephew, & I am contented to ingage for it on the terms yow propose. In like manner I agree to the 3d. As to the 4th, when I consider the debt & estate I thinke my neices portions as much as is fitt for their brother to give. As

[1] The clue to the elusive mysteries of this letter was at last discovered in a note on the back of a document preserved among the MSS. of Col. David Milne-Home of Wedderburn (reported upon by *Historical MSS. Commission*). The terms of relationship used by Lauderdale are employed in a very loose sense. The Countess of Lauderdale, Anna Home, was one of the daughters of Alexander, 1st Earl of Home, and her brother James, 2nd Earl, died without issue in 1633. He was succeeded in 1636 by a distant relative, James Home, son of Sir James Home of Whitrig, who as 3rd Earl married Jean Douglas, daughter of William, 6th Earl of Morton. They had issue, four sons and five daughters. The letter deals with the terms of a contract which was being prepared relative to the prospective marriage of the eldest son, Alexander (afterwards 4th Earl of Home), with Mary, Lauderdale's only daughter. This Alexander is the person whom Lauderdale chooses to call 'nephew,' and the 'nieces' would be Alexander's five sisters. The 'nephew's' mother, Jean Douglas, lived on till 1694; but her own mother was dead before 1650, and the 'mother' mentioned in the letter must refer to some one else. The projected marriage fell through, as the lady in question was not attractive enough to capture the young gentleman's fancy.

to the 5th, my daughters portion by my contract of mariage is 3000 pounds sterlin; but if she succeed to my estate it is not reasonable that I should pay that portion now, yet if the busines proceed I will give a better provision yeerly then the interest of it. As to your 6th, the houses heir in England are secured to my daughter, and I thinkc it so just that they remaine so in her power that beforc mariage I will not have her dispone them; afterward we shall doe as we see cause. As to your 7th, I thinke it reasonable Marie have a joynture out of that estate; the proportion I leave to freinds. Also I leave to freinds & lawyers the forme of the disposition mentioned in your 8th. These answers will I hope seem the more reasonable, when it is considered that if the matter proceed I doe resolve to entaile my whole estate to my daughter & the aires of this mariage, which failing to my daughters heirs by any other mariage, which failing unto my nephew & his heirs, and in my ownc time to give them a reasonable provision. As to your 9th, I desire none to be on it at first but your self & my brother, with advice alwayes of my Lord Rothes, and a scroll of all to be drawen by Longformacus onely. When I have approved it shall be perfited by Sir John Nisbet & more freinds, and in the scroll notice must be taken of my brothers contract, that my nephew may carie my name if he be to succeed to my estate, which I thinke were reasonable when he is heir apparent if he marie my daughter. But on that I will not so much insist. The succession of that estate wold also be provided for. Heir are hints of matter cnough, I shall addc no more till your answer to this doe occasion it; and by God's grace you shall not stay so long for a reply from, Your owne LAUDERDAILL.

IV. SIR ROBERT MORAY TO EARL OF TWEEDDALE.

OXFORD,[1] 30 *September* 1665.

Since as your last of 19 tells me the Archbishop [2] did not

[1] The Court was at Oxford during the plague of London.

[2] James Sharp, archbishop of St. Andrews.

sie you as he past, the remedy is that you will see him at Edinburgh ere long, and there he will entertain you with what past between him and me about a friend. Methinks your purposes of coming here away are easily curbed. Though you persist in your sonnes[1] going to France against the clear advice of some friends, for my part since you put me to it again I will repeat my positive opinion it is lost time at best to travell, without repeating the arguments I have formerly insisted on, that you cannot have forgot. But I will add a couple that I suppose will knock the nail on the head; one is, nothing from hence can hinder those that pass into France from English ground from making their quarrantains at their landing; the next, it is expected wee shall have warre with France, and upon this very account the Duke of Monmouths intention to go over thither is stopt, as I am told by a friend. I think I have now said enough on that chapter.

I must smile at the difficulty you say there is to find fit employment for your son without snares at home; it doth almost put me in humor to rount a little at you, but to have said this much will serve.

Though I could allow of your sonne being here at Court a while, yet while it is itinerant and out of London I cannot encourage it. If it were there I should think it no hard matter to get him as much exercise for his spirit as he could weeld, and it were not impossible but by the advyce of friends hee might soon become conversant in all is to be done or known at Court. But as it is, the being at Court will be inconvenient and expensive. Yet when it pleases God to stay his hand it may not be amisse you and hee both come hither, and then it will be more easy to take measures in all things.

You cannot but hear of any thing can be told from hence sooner than any friend here can write it, and therefore it is but lost labour to tell you the King of Spain is dead, and the Bishop of Munster entred with an army of some 18 or 20000 men into the States of Hollands

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[1] John, Lord Yester, eldest son of the Earl of Tweeddale.

bounds.[1] For by this time you will I doubt not have seen his declaration of his design & causes of the warr. What is to come can onely be guessed at, and you may guesse as well as wee; onely wee think the Spaniards may oppose the marching of the French forces through their bounds to assist the Hollanders, and it is thought the Swedes will joyn with the brave Bishop when the frost comes. A Dieu.

V. LAUDERDALE TO TWEEDDALE.

Oxford, 3 *October* 1665.

When H. McKie[2] went I had so little time that I was forced by W. Sharp[3] to beg your pardon, which now I doe myself for not answering yours of 8 August. And now I have time to answer onely one part of it, which is that yow may command any part of my land for your parke. If you can exchange to the tennants satisfaction (as my father did with Colston[4]) I thinke it will be the [best] way, but if that cannot be, yow shall [command] what is necessarie for yow & as you please. The answer to the rest shall come with the nixt.

Robin Murray[5] is not in toune, & therfor least he have not written I will tell my opinion freely concerning my

[1] After skirmishes between the English and Dutch fleets both in Colonial and European waters, a formal declaration of war was made on 4th March 1665. Allies were sought, and in return for a subsidy, the Bishop of Münster (Westphalia), Christolph Bernhard von Galen, invaded Holland in September. Louis XIV. of France, desirous of a share in the Low Countries, after the death of Philip IV. of Spain on 17th September 1665, sent military aid to the Dutch, and declared war against England on 26th January 1666. England gained some victories at sea, but eventually the menace of France occasioned a Triple Alliance (England, the United Provinces and Sweden). The tide swung back when Charles II. concluded the Secret Treaty of Dover on 1st June 1670, promising aid to France against Holland.

[2] Henry Mackie, a messenger carrying despatches between the Court and Scotland.

[3] Sir William Sharp of Stonyhill, brother of the archbishop. He was H.M. Cashkeeper in Scotland and Keeper of the Signet.

[4] A property in East Lothian.

[5] Sir Robert Moray.

Lord your sones voyage. In a word I am totally against it, for besides that I thinke few are the better & most the worse of going to France, this time is very improper. For besides the spreading of the sicknes which makes innes very unsafe, especially in Bedfordshire & Northamtonshire through which he must come hither, it is not safe to goe to the sea side from this ; And when he comes to France he must indure a quarantaine, from which no pass will protect him. But my great reason is, to tell you freely, I expect France will speedily breake with us. The Embassadors heir beginne to speake high, & the King ansuers like himself. They declare they will assist Holland against Bishop of Munster, whom I am sure our King will assist. In a word I expect a warre, & then I am sure my Lord Yester will be ill in France. Adieu.

VI. SAME TO SAME.

Oxford, 17 *October* 1665.

. . . (*torn*) was this day fortnight, I have had none from. . . . But I write this onely concerning the Duke [of Bucc]leuchs business.[1] Yesterday we had a meeting. The Commissioners had been studying Mr Hoptons returne, & could not well understand it (thogh it was as cleir as the sunne), but when I opened it all to them they were the most satisfyed with yow all that ever was seen, as yow will see by their letter. They have cryed the Curators up to the sky unto the King, at which his Majistie laughed heartily for he ever was of that opinion.

[1] After the marriage in April 1663 between James, Duke of Monmouth, and Anna, Duchess of Buccleuch, and in consequence of the terms of the marriage contract, adjustments were continually under discussion regarding the management of the estates and paying up of debts. Thirteen Scottish Earls and Lairds acted as curators for the Duchess (twelve years old at her marriage), and eight Scottish Earls and Lairds for the Duke, with two Englishmen. Lauderdale, Tweeddale, Lord Cochrane and Lord Bellenden were among the Duke's Commissioners. (See Scot. Hist. Soc., *Miscellany* v., for correspondence with Sir John Gilmour, Lord President of Session, about the contract.)

Now let me whisper to yow what the result will be: Wheras before they were violent that the Dukes debts heir should be payd out of Scotland, now we are resolved to get the King to pay his debt heir (which his Majestie will doe), and to leave the estate onely to doe the Scots matters. But that which I most earnestly recommend to yow is to hasten up ane attested copie of the late Earl of Buccleuchs testament & the additionall testament (which we call heir the codicill). Hast those copies I say up, and then the King will give his determination upon the executrie busines, and give me speedy notice of your receipt of this.

My last gave yow my advice freely concerning my Lord your sone. When you see the Kings speeches, which yow may call for at my Lord Bellendens, yow will see I have reason to dissuade a French journey.[1] Yesterday the King told me he intended once to have sent Duke Monmouth to France, but now he will not send him thither.

VII. SAME TO SAME.

HIGHGATE, 23 *June* 1666.

I came from the fleet with his Majestie on Monday late, and becaus next week I am to be in waiting I came hither to divert myself with some freinds on Twesday. Yesterday I went in to the Councell & came back at night, and have receaved yours of this day sinnet, to which yow require a speedy answer.

And first I have diligently perused your information concerning your Ladies title to that part of her fathers executrie which belonged to her 2d brother & sister.[2] I thinke it a very faire & plausible title, if the renunciation

[1] The King in his speech, 11th October, referred to the need of a special grant for defence if a 'powerful neighbour' (France) should prefer the friendship of the Dutch before his.

[2] Jean Scott, Countess of Tweeddale, was second daughter of Walter, 1st Earl of Buccleuch. Her brother David died in 1648, and her sister Mary in 1644, both unmarried. The financial tangle between the Buccleuchs and Tweeddales is dealt with in Sir William Fraser's *The Scotts of Buccleuch*.

(mentioned in your paper) by her contract of mariage of all goods befalling to her by her fathers deceasc doe not make her titlc disputatable ; for althogh she claimes this as heir to David & to Lady Marie & in their right, yet subtle lawyers may argue that they are goods befalling to her by her fathers deceasc & therfor are renunced by her in her contract. But of this yow will have much better advice then mine, onely I thoght it my duty to suggest my sudden thoght on it. Alwayes I doe not see how your title to this can be at all concerned in the Kings decreit upon the submission of the Earles of Rothes & Weems ; for first yow are no partie submitter, & secondly this decreit is onely a determination betwixt the heir & executors of the late Countes of Buccleuch.[1] Now your plea is against the late Countes as heir to her father & consequently both against her heir & executors, so that however the goods be divided betwixt them yow are not concerned, for if your title be good, let the division be made betwixt them as it can, yet your plea is good against all that represent the deceased Countes. But if yow be concerned in it, pardon me to tell yow yow have neglected your time by not putting your clame sooner, for now the decreit is given out, hath been determined by his Majestic after advice with councell learned in the Civill Law & after perusall of the cases stated by the advocats of both sides. Accordingly I drew the decreet, and my draught hath been perused by civill & common lawyers and wilbe sent doune nixt week, so it is no more in my power to alter a title in it. My advice upon the whole is that yow doe not enter into any sute at law wherin thc Duke of Monmouth is concerned without first acquainting the King & getting his leave. And as I advised yow by Mr Hay, you must also state your case as to the land yow claimc called Hassenden[2] (as I remembcr), and get it subscrived

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[1] Mary Scott, Countess of Buccleuch, and elder sister of Anna, was married in 1659 to Walter Scott (created Earl of Tarras, 1660), and died 11th March 1661.

[2] Walter, 1st Earl of Buccleuch, purchased in 1622 the barony of Hassendean.

by eminent lawyers, for it will pass the tryall of the Dukes Commissioners heir without whom the King will determine no thing in the Duke Monmouths affaires. Among them I am one, but a very insignificant one, for all that I shall move either in my Lord Commissioners concern or yours is alwayes suspected. Cochran [1] is the man they absolutely trust; he corresponds daily with Tom Ross,[2] of which yow the Curators sees daily the effects. Yow may remember I gave yow notice how violently they press that the money due to the late Countes may be disposed by paying Earl Niddisdale, by paying old debts of the Duke heir no less then 6000 lib sterling, & other whimseys of buying Hawick & I know not what. This (if it be not prevented by the Curators) will totally destroy the project of buying out my Lord Commissioners right to the ward, and will subvert all your hopes of recompens for Hassinden & the claime which yow now mention; so it does equally concern my Lord Commissioner & yow to looke to it, and I have given yow both warning if yow doe not joyne to prevent it yow may blame yourselfs, for it shall never be in my power to help either of yow. Likewise I am convinced how destructive it will be to the Duke of Buccleuch not to buy out such reall rights on that estate rather with that money, then to pay English debt with it which may well be payed out of the English Exchequer. For all your goods therfor speake with my Lord Commissioner & joyne heartily in the matter, els as I have said yow will be both irrecoverably mumped. It is true my Lord Commissioners right is unquestionably fixt, yet ready money were good for yow both, and best for the Duke of Buccleuch in the end. Whither those matters be worth your journey hither yow can best judge; one thing I can assure yow, that without your owne presence it will runne great riske to miscarie & your freinds cannot help yow in your absence as they can in your owne presence. Lay therfor your hand to your heart, and if you come acquaint my Lord

[1] William, Lord Cochrane, Privy Councillor, one of the Duke's Commissioners.

[2] Governor of the Duke of Monmouth, and one of the Duchess's curators.

Commissioner with your comming & with the reason of it, which may prove to his advantage as well as yours, and this prevents jealousies, prevents discourses. Take councell from your owne self. As to the information concerning Earl of Dunfermlines right of Admirality, it seems to me very cleir, and I shall answer yow shall have no interruption from this place. One thing you must advise in my concern with some of my lawyers. I finde the old Duke of Lennox renunces all right of Admiralitie in the South side of Forth of what was the Abbacie of Dunfermlin (that is to say in the Lordship of Mussilburgh) as well as in the North side. Now advise whither the Kings gifts to me and my late infeftment does carie me to the Admirality in that Lordship. If it does, then I am sure if the copie yow sent me be true the Duke renunces it to the Queen and her heirs and consequently in my favors. After yow have advised it send me word.[1]

One thing I must adde & so I have done for this time. I am informed that my Lord Provest informes that in my bargaine about the Cittadell[2] I did ingage my self not onely to procure the gift but also to get it past the seals. Truely he does me wrong, for first I onely promised to doe my indeavor to get the signature past the Kings hand, yet I wold not make it a part of my bargane. I did it onely out of my respect to the good toune (and not for any the least advantage to my self); but directly nor indirectly I did never in the least promise any thing as to the passing of it. If this be denyed I will prove it by

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[1] Anne of Denmark received the lordship of Dunfermline as dowry after her marriage to King James VI. in 1589. Ludovick, 2nd Duke of Lennox, was Lord High Admiral of Scotland. The admiralty rights of old pertaining to Dunfermline returned to the Earl of Dunfermline's family. Lauderdale's charters of 25th May 1661 do not convey the admiralty rights so far as affecting his lordship of Musselburgh, which lordship was in 1594 incorporated with the lordship of Thirlestane in favour of his grandfather, Chancellor Maitland.

[2] Certain forts, or citadels, including that of Leith, were built by Cromwell for quartering English garrisons. The Privy Council, on 13th July 1661, ordered their partial demolition. Lauderdale acquired right to the citadel of Leith, and sold it to the provost of Edinburgh for the town's use, but thought they had the best of the bargain.

undeniable arguments, for I am resolved not to leave the reproach of being not so good as my word.

Let my Lord Bellenden[1] & my brother[2] & who yow please see this last section of my letter & let me have ane answer, for I am well informed my Lord Provest said so; and truely as I have said I will one way or other be cleard of the reproach. My humble service to your Noble Lady.

VIII. SAME TO SAME.[3]

[Same date ?]

This to your self.—In answer to what our Cusine complaines of her freinds unkindenes to her daughter, I am principally meant, & I give yow this answer; make what use of it yow please, & tell it her if you will. I visited her very frequently, till I heard of a designe which made my ears tingle; I cannot say she harbored such thoghts, but I thoght it fitt not to visite any more, to shew my detestation by my action as I did home [*sic*] by my words. I have receavd full assurance by words that it is given over, but I am not capable of satisfaetion till there be a reall separation when weather ean allow it in the Spring. If pressing MR[4] his going to Seotland be a fault I am as guiltie & more then yow, but I wonder that it is by her thoght a fault; I hope if she had heard what I did she wold have done as I did. The young Ladies journey hither was a signall folie; waters were pretended but no such thing donc, and the shorter follies be it is the better. I will doe what I thinke is my duety, & let people talke I care not.

As to the mariage of the littlc man,[5] I shalbe farre from

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[1] William, Lord Bellenden of Broughton, appointed Treasurer Depute on 3rd April 1661; afterwards one of the Commissioners of Treasury.

[2] Charles Maitland of Halton, afterwards 3rd Earl of Lauderdale.

[3] This is another cryptic letter, of which the date is uncertain. No attempt is made to explain the allusions.

[4] Sir Robert Moray.

[5] This epithet has no relation to the same expression used in Letters 31, 45, 46.

opposing it. If they have a minde to marrie, I know not where they can doe better ; for I hope each wilbe carefull of the others children, and then let them please themselves I shalbe pleased. This last is onely to your self, for I give no advice till it be asked.

(Endorsed) ' For your self SS.[1] '

IX. SIR ROBERT MORAY TO TWEEDDALE.

Whitehall, 24 *July* 1666.

Yours of 17 camc yesterday morning to my hands. You may expect from me kindness to your son, if I have any for any body.[2] There is a concurrence of all causes that can produce it. He hath I doubt not formerly given you an account of what I advised and hee set upon, for employment of his time, and reason of an interruption. He will now fall to it again, & my advyce as well as that of other friends will not be wanting. Expect particulars from himself, and I will acquaint you with his progress. It is easy for me to converse with him alone ; I take pleasure in it, & slip none occasions. We talk of all subjects that concern salvation, & the business of human lyfe. Moralls are our common theam. I not onely delight to unfold to him what belongs to the right framing of the mind & morall actings in order to the attainment of vertue and felicity, upon the account of his disposition & capacity, but becaus I find hee is already hopefully advanced. In sum I finde the fear of God hath root in his heart, and do not observe any degree of tendency to any vice in him. Thus you may conclude hee is lyke to be a sharer in the best things I can impart.

But I will not conceal from you that my satisfaction in all this is much increased by what you say further to me concerning him, and what I have met with since I had your letter. You will judge so by the account I am

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[1] Tweeddale.

[2] This letter deals chiefly with the project of the marriage of John, Lord Yester, with Lauderdale's daughter Mary.

going to give you. The overture I hinted to you a good while ago & of which you minde me never slipt out of my thoughts since, though possibly I should not have been so ready to retrive it again if you had not encouraged me ; and now that I have your directions I like the matter so well that I set my self to it with my discreetest industry. I shall then tell you that although since my return from Wales I had to my thinking observed in your son when he was in company with the young lady somewhat, at first, that made me have some thoughts hee had more than ordinary regarde for her, yet for all the credit I have acquired with him and the further ground I have since had to judge it to grow apace, I sought no opportunity to lay my self open to him nor applied my self to encourage him to discover any thing of it to me, till yesterday after I received your letter. Then indeed having weighty motives to loose no time, I walking with him in the park fell upon a discourse with him of such things & in such a manner as (in short) made him freely & handsomely (to say the circumstances were long) discover to me that his inclinations to the young lady are already as fairly advanced as I can wish them. I was I confess no less satisfied with his way of opening himself & the confidence I found he had in me than with that providence that I found had ordered a thing I wisht, so as it flowed from himself. And to tell you freely I was so affected with this that I willingly gave way to the motives and inclination I had, to not only signify to him my approbation of the thing but also encourage him in it, and that upon grounds that will not only justify me to you but prevail with your self, the showing of some whereof you engage me to ; and withall to pray to heaven for a blissing upon the persones & designe ; and somewhat of this I know you will this day have from himself. The reasons I used for encouraging him were (to say some briefly) my knowledge of the young ladies being one who hath the right principles of vertue, the knowledge, fear, faith and love of God founded in the heart ; hath the sweetness of her disposition and modestie seasoned with all the fruits

of a vertuous & carefull education, and (not to exceed, nor insist on what you may know) a will tempered, discreet, easy, witty, obliging, grave, & pleasing way of conversation, so that if it please God so to order it as your son may meet with the same disposition in her as he hath towards her (and let me adde I find a great propensity in my minde to hope yea and ominate very well of that too), I know not any couple I can promise a greater blessing to in that which is the greatest felicity of marriage, faithfull & sincere mutuall love, than to them. And here as I think I have not onely discovered to you clearly my own inclination in relating your sons, but done it in a strain that lookes not lyke indifferent; so I presume I have opened to you an entry for playing your part, seing that liberty which you kindly and discreetly left to your son hath taken a ply that you cannot but be well pleased with, not onely for the reasons I have now touched but for many others that I need not now fall upon.

And because I am resolved to be wanting in nothing towards you or him, I must tell you I think it time you make way for your sons addresses to the young lady by proposing the matter to her parents. And as my very saying this may be some encouragement, so I do allow you to make use of any thing I have here said as an ingredient in the rise you shall take, and will not fail to act further in it what may be fit to fall to my share. But that you may know I do not deal magisterially with you, whatever privilege you do allow me, I shall further ad that I press not your haste out of an humor of driving fast, but advise it because I know that there are more than one proposition of this nature from parties as advantageous as this Iland affords now in hand, and I should be sorry you were prevented or your son disappointed. More I could say but this will suffise at present. My answere to yours which I expect speedily will have all that needs be said more on this subject.

This once a litle of other things. You will have heard the Fines are to be employed upon the entertainment of 5 Troops and 16 Companies that are to be raised for the

Kings service & present exigency of affaires, & who shall command them.[1] And you will have heard too that the King was advised so to employ them by severall persons, whereof you will learn from L. B.[2] all I hinted lately. But because I know that advice is by some charged (as a ruine to many &c.) upon E. L. who I assure you no more moved it than you did, let me tell you I askt the King about it, and he told me (to say it short) with all the circumstances, that having declared in presence of the Duke, the Archbishop of St Andrews & Earle of Lauderdale after debate his pleasure those forces should be raised, he having askt the Archbishop which way they should be entertained was by him advised to make use of the money hee had readiest. I repeat not words but matter. This is matter of fact, but as the thing is most justifiable in itself, so I neither mean it as a crime in the adviser nor averre it not to have been in the Kings thoughts before, so I only relate it as *rem gestam*, and that if any body be so foolish, humorous or malicious as to blame your freinds for it you may have good ground to clear them as your discretion prompts and occasion requires. This impart to Lord Bellenden for I shall not have time to day to say so much to him, and if you let him see this whole epistle you cannot do it to a more faithfull friend. A Dieu.

Yesternight an express from the fleet, the King was informed that about eight that morning the van of our fleet was within a league of the Dutch & to the windward of them, making all the sail they could to get up & engage. The reporter being then sent hither sayes that about ten a clock he heard many broad sydes, but tells no more. But by this wee doubt not they have fought, though wee

[1] Precursor of the Militia. The fines exigible under the act of 9th September 1662 containing exemptions from the Act of Indemnity of 1661, and which in any event there was great difficulty in recovering, were now to be applied for maintenance of the forces. The Scottish nobles who had suffered for the Royalist cause had hoped for a share of the fines to recoup their losses. Archbishop Sharp had a chief hand in the measure, which under the pretext of impending invasion from Holland he made instrumental in suppressing his co-religionists.

[2] Lord Bellenden.

heare not the guns as formerly. The Lord God of battailes bless our fleet with a compleat victory.[1]

X. LAUDERDALE TO TWEEDDALE.

HIGHGATE, 27 *August* 1666.

On Fryday I reccavd yours of the 18 instant, and have chosen to answer it from this place where I have spoken with those most concernd in the proposition yow make. It is true I heard of it before at second hand & saw what yow wrote to Robin Moray about it, but could not say any thing in the matter untill I had it immediately from your self.

I doe observ the same divine providence in this matter which your Lordship mentions, & I have the same consideration of establishing our freindship & intailing it to our posterity; but that which does incline me most is the particular esteem I have for your sone, in whom I see such signes of the feare of God & of a vertuous disposition that I doubt not of Gods blessing upon those parts that God hath given him & which your education of him have much advanced. And therfor I doe give my heartie consent to the motion, & I doe promise yow the like from my wife. The rest I leave to my Lord Yester to say. As for the terms of the barganc I hope we shall soone agree, for we know one another, and you know my estate as well as any does. When therfor yow come hither I thinke we shall trouble few with trysting betwixt us. I have by this post given notice of the proposition to my Lord Commissioner, because it wold not have been handsome for yow to come away without acquainting him, and he might have taken it ill if I had conceald it from him. Therfor I wold have yow to speake to him of it also.

Since this was written I have receavd yours concerning your Ladies executrie. But I can say nothing of it to night, for Robin Moray & I must digest our thoghts con-

[1] On 25th and 26th July the English fleet gained a victory over the Dutch.

cerning it. All that I shall now say is, that for the consideration of that busines & many others I shall wish yow to hasten your journey hither assoone as yow can. Give me leave to present my humble service to your Lady. Yow shall have nothing like complement from Yours, L.

XI. [LAUDERDALE TO JOHN, EARL OF ROTHES, LORD HIGH COMMISSIONER.]

WHITEHALL, 27 *July* 1667.

(Printed in *Reg. Privy Council*, 3rd Series, Vol. II, pp. 318, 319.)

XII. LAUDERDALE TO TWEEDDALE.

WHITEHALL, 14 *September* 1667.

Yesterday I had yours of the 7th,[1] and it came opportunely. I had last night a full audience with his Majestie upon our matters, & I did read yours & MRs [2] every word to him, with which he was perfitely satisfyed. The particulars were tedious & needles to write; the result was, he told he intended alwayes the thing, & onely thoght the doing it heir wold be easier, which was his onely reason of delay, but now he perfectly trusts you two who knowes best what is to be done being on the place; & therfor he commanded me to make all ready for doing the feate [3] and bring it downe to him on Thursday to Bagshott, from whence it shall have its date (& if MR were not to read this I wold say it wilbe a Bage-shott indeed). Now

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[1] Airy, ii. 45 (Letter 34) gives the text of Tweeddale's letter.

[2] Printed *ibid.*, p. 47 (Letter 35).

[3] John, Earl of Rothes, was on 14th October 1664 appointed Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly, and on 25th July 1665 Commissioner to Parliament. Sir Robert Moray was sent to Scotland in June 1667 with a view to changing the Council's policy, and depriving Rothes of these offices (see *Report on Laing MSS.*, i. 359); and the commissions were recalled in October, while further measures were taken for pacifying the country (*Reg. Privy Council, 3rd Series*, ii. 294, 343-6; see also Robertson's *Life of Sir Robert Moray*, pp. 123-32, and Airy, ii. pp. 52 *et seq.*). A partial disbandment of the army was made.

you shall blame me if the spoonfull (which you complained of) be not specdily taken out of the pott.[1] Expect it positively to come from this on this day sinnet, and indeavor to get a Councel to meet against the time that you reckon it may be with you. The pretence for a Councell must be the matter of trade [2] of which I write to MR, so I wold have you & MR to write to the Commissioner to call a Councell to receave the account of what that Committee now appointed heir shall doe, to the end you may appoint some to prepare what Scotland is to desire concerning our trade to be sent to me against the meeting of the Parliament when the report of this Committee is to be made, that I may be inabled to supply what shalbe defective as to our interest in this report. This is a farre pretence, but you must by all meanes conceale what is comming, because I doe not tell my Lord Commissioner a word of it.[3]

Oh it wold doe your heart good to see what a new world we have heir & how bravely all the Kings busines goes on. Now we have no green roome, all is fairely treated in Councell, & now the King is the King himself. I care not what people say of Middletons vesite, I am sure it is faire on my pairt. So, Dearest brother, Adieu.

XIII. SAME TO SAME.

Whitehall, 8 *October* 1667.

Since my last on Thursday I have receaved 3 from yow, one of 20 September & two of the 1 October, which I shall answer in order without repeating a word of what

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[1] An expression used in Tweeddale's letter.

[2] A Council of Trade established in 1661 for regulating trade, navigation and manufactures, and committees connected with it, frequently sat during the following years to discuss the effect of the English acts, especially those of 1663, which had an adverse effect on Scotland's trade with England both by land and sea. Eventually the whole question was taken up afresh with a view to the union of the two kingdoms.

[3] Rothes was kept in the dark as to the real purpose of the Council's meeting, which was on 8th October. The previous meeting was on 13th September.

I have written to MR. Why I can say nothing yet of our trade you must guess by that letter; I must not yet tell you till Thursday. You will I hope be pleas'd with all the dispatches I have sent; I hope they are plaine enough & may be understood notwithstanding my dull (and as it seemed lately) my incomprehensible way of expressing the Kings orders. The Establishment[1] does exclude all exeept those mentioned in it; yet if you thinke it necessarie I shall either send you ane expresse order to vacat the Commissar Generals Commission, or rather ane order to him to pay out what you shall appoint him.

If you have a minde to have worshipfull Sir W. Bannatine[2] sent doune to you, doe but give me a rise[3] for it either for accounting or otherwise, & it is done. I am glade of what you say of Lady Mar. Kennedies[4] going to Church, & so is the King (for I told it him), but she sayes nothing of it to me, therfor I cannot take notice of it to her. Send me confirmation of it.

As coneerning Sir Ja. Turners offer I shall like well, or what ever you ean doe there to accomodat Kellie, but take heed he doe not refuse it.[5] You mention a letter of his to which you referr me, but forgott to send it.

I will doe what I can for a ship to Virginia, but can doe nothing in it yet.[6] For all that you say I am confident your great freind[7] will come. For Gods sake let him

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[1] Organising the Militia (*Reg. Privy Council*, 3rd series, ii. *ad indices*).

[2] Sir William Bellenden, or Ballantine, brought to account for uplifting fines illegally in the West, and banished. (*Ibid.*) Cf. Letter 64.

[3] =excuse.

[4] Lady Margaret Kennedy, daughter of John, 6th Earl of Cassillis. She was an intimate friend of Lauderdale. Her father died in April 1668. She later became the wife of Gilbert Burnet, the historian, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.

[5] Sir James Turner and Alexander, Earl of Kellie, expected assistance from the Fines for clearing off their debts (*Laing Report*, i. 341, 351). The former was brought to book for mismanaging affairs in the West (*Reg. Privy Council*, 20th Feb. 1668), and on 3rd March was deprived of his command, which was given to Kellie.

[6] Possibly in relation to the banishment of certain disaffected persons to that colony.

[7] Probably Earl of Rothes: see next Letter.

not want your company, it will be most usefull to him, and you need not feare my being surprized with the dimission.

I shall once this week God willing write to Earl of Home about ane agreement with Spot which is cleirly my sence.

Now let me satisfy your curiosity. General Dalyell[1] is with me every day. I carried him to the King, to whom he gave a letter from Lord Chancellor which had nothing but a recommendation of himself, as he broght me another to that same purpos, at which I laught heartily before him & he disclamd any knowledg of it. The King was very civill to him, but there past not a word of busines. I gave him the complement I intended, and he told me he left Scotland peaceable & he hoped it wold continue so. Yet he harps often upon the danger of the West. What he will say to others you shall know when I doe. In the meane time he presses hard for the forfaltures[2] of Caldwell & Mr Gabriel Maxwell to himself, and Kersland & Mr Cuningham of Bedland for my cousin Drummond[3]; all which he hath broght ready with him & left them with me to day, but I thinke they will take a fortnight to passe. Your freinds are well. Tell me what becomes of my parkdike.[4] Tell MR I knew he intended more of

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[1] Thomas Dalyell of Binns, appointed Lieut.-General of the Forces, and admitted Privy Councillor, 4th December 1666, after his exploit at Rullion Green. He was absent from the Council meetings in Scotland between 13th September 1667 and 4th June 1668.

[2] Certain gentlemen of Ayrshire assembled on 28th November 1666 at Chitterflat, near Caldwell, intending to render aid to their compatriots who had marched on Edinburgh, but on hearing of the latter's defeat at Rullion Green on that date, they disbanded. Among them were William Mure of Caldwell, who fled to Holland; Mr. Gabriel Maxwell, minister of Dundonald, pardoned 1st October 1667, but forfeited 22nd December 1671; Robert Ker of Kersland, who escaped to Holland, but on his return was imprisoned for some years; and Mr. John Cunningham of Baidland, imprisoned for ten years.

[3] William Drummond of Cromlix, Lieut.-General of the Forces; afterwards 1st Viscount Strathallan.

[4] Lauderdale's Scottish estate of Lethington (later Lennoxlove) was not far from Yester. Lord Tweeddale's Papers contain accounts for repair of park dykes about this period.

his debt to me, els I had not mentioned it to yow; but I will have no more till he grow richer.

XIV. LAUDERDALE TO SIR ROBERT MORAY.

WHITEHALL, 7 *November* 1667.

This is my waiting week which concurred much to your punishment on Twesday for your two posts silence. Yesterday I had yours from Culros of the 31 October but waiting you know makes ever my letters short. By agreement with SS. my part is to tell you my Lord Chancellors conference with the Laird[1] which I have from both parties, and it was as well as I could wish.[2] He at first gave thanks for his great trusts, expresst his great aversion to the Commissioners place, excused his aversion to the place he hath as not proceeding from a mislike of the change in the Thesaurie but from his owne disabilitie, craved ane exoneration as to his Commissioners place which he is to bring to me. The Laird was civill to him, but tells me one passage which the other told me not, which was that Ch[ancellor] asked if he intended to keep the Thesaurie heir still in Commission; to which he receavd a positive answer as to both Kingdomes. In this I can promise you there will be neither change nor addition, indeavor it who pleases. In a word all is heir as to our affairs as you could wish.

As for news, yesterday the Commons carried their great vote against the recommitting the Charge[3] & bringing out the proofes before the House owned the accusation; it was carried by 66 votes for there was 194 votes the one way & but 128 for the other. So that partie is creast fallen, and yesterday the hous hath receavd the 4 first heads & eminent members have answered for the proving

[1] The King (see Airy, ii. 92, Letter 59).

[2] See Letter 12. John, Earl of Rothes, was appointed Chancellor on 16th April 1667.

[3] Edward Hyde, 1st Earl of Clarendon, chancellor of England, was impeached before the House of Lords on 12th November 1667.

those 4. This day they have done so with all the rest except two. Onely they will not insist on the correspondence with Cromwell because it is pardoned by the Act of oblivion, because not prosecuted within two years after that act. Tomorrow the Impeachment will be sent up to the Lords as all men conclude. I am sorie to tell you his Royall Highnes is fevorish this day, I pray God send him health. I leave the rest to SS.

XV. SAME TO SAME.

WARE, 2 *January* 1668.

Now you will believe SS. is in earnest as to his journey [1] seing I am this farre with him on his way toward you. If it be not your fault you will God willing see him at Yester to morrow sinnet being Fryday the 10 January. Till then I pray you have patience, for excepting two stories you shall have nothing from me. He will then please you as I said before, if you be not very ill to please.

My first storie is the D[uke] of Hamilton [2] without me did solemnly attaque his Majestie on Twesday. It was I think his *ultimus naturæ conatus* and succeded very very ill. He told me nothing but I read it in great letters in his face. He complaind sore to my Lord Chancellar and worse of me to Lady Susanne.[3] His Majestie gave me a full account of it, first in generall that he was a *bon chat bon rat*, then that he prest fiercely for his money; but the King was fixd & steady. At last he did offer to farme the Kings revenue at much advantage and to finde most excellent security for it. The King's answer was that if he had any such proposition to make let him put it in wryting and he wold make a reference on it to the Com-

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[1] Tweeddale was now returning from London to Scotland.

[2] William, 3rd Duke of Hamilton, husband of Anna, Duchess of Hamilton in her own right.

[3] Susanna, sister of the Duchess of Hamilton, married in December 1668 John, 7th Earl of Cassillis.

missioners of the Thesaurie. And this is all that is or wil be at this roade.

My other storic is that that Twesday the King finished his orders to the Councell wherin the Commission of Generall & all other Generall Offices[1] are expressly vacated. Yesterday morning I went with SS. to my Lord Chancellor & fairly intimated the Kings pleasure to him. He tooke it cheerfully much like a wise man, went immediately to the King & testifyed his cherfull quitting that place. So all is signd & sealed & in SS.'s pocket, & so, Adieu.

XVI. SAME TO SAME.

Whitehall, 7 *January* 1668.

By my last I wrote onely to SS. to welcome him home; now I divide my worke, the publick to you & my owne privat affairs to him. Receave herewith the secret article with Holland which is to be the rule in proceeding against those libell wryting rogues in Holland to get them by vertue of the treaty driven out of those provinces, according to one of the points of Earl of Tweedales privat memoriall from the Laird.[2] By what is scored you will see there is nothing in the privat article to protect them; for in my opinion you must cause libell against Mr Ward & such others of them as you please the being authors of the damnd libells *The Apologie*[3] and *Naphtalin*.[4] Sumond them in a legall way upon 60 dayes. Be sure they will not appeare before the Justice Generall, so upon their contumacie they are to be declared fugitives & rebells, and

[1] The King wrote to the Privy Council, 31st December 1667, cancelling the office of General of the Forces and the commissions to all general officers. Thus Rothes was deprived of all his offices except the chancellorship.

[2] The King.

[3] *Apologetic Relation of the Sufferings of Faithful Ministers, etc.*, by John Brown of Wamphray, printed abroad in 1665.

[4] *'Naphtali,' or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland*, compiled by Mr. James Stuart of Goodtrees and Mr. James Stirling, minister at Paisley, was ordered by the Privy Council (12th Dec. 1667) to be publicly burned, along with the *Apologie*. An *Answer* was published by Bishop Honeyman, and Stuart's reply was entitled *Jus populi Vindicatum*.

so the King is to demand the expelling them the States dominions. This you may communicat to my Lord Advocat.[1] He can advise much better, but this will doe their turne, and the privat article must be showen to none but the Advocat & hast wold be used in this matter, for put these rogues out of Holland they can print no more.

I have receavd yours of 30 of December & am glade of the good sueees of the bond[2] notwithstanding the obstructions. Of all which SS. brings so much of the Kings pleasure that there needs no addition.

Our wife wrote none to me this post, so I want the news of the resolutions to hast home. But the Duke is still more & more angrie as he findes his measures were ill taken. But for his great anger at me and his telling me *He beleevs me not* I know no remedy but patience, which I use for my Lady Duches[3] sake.

Yours requires no further answer, and there occures no more, except that I thinke the act of banishment must be taken off from the Holland ministers when they are summond. So, D. MR, Adieu.

XVII. SAME TO SAME AND TWEEDDALE.

Whitehall, 18 *January* 1668.

Partly because I had no opportunity to shew the Councells letter till last night, but chiefly because I will not lie & love not to give alarums, I did not write on Thursday; for on Wednesday evening *Mon fils*[4] was hott & troubled with a head ake and some swelling in his face. On Thursday morning his head was well but he was a little feverish, whereupon Sir Al. Fraser[5] did let him blood which immediately tooke away his fever, of which he

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[1] Sir John Nisbet of Dirleton.

[2] Bond for keeping the peace, introduced by Sir Robert Moray, to be taken by those who had been pardoned for disaffection.

[3] Anna, Duchess of Hamilton.

[4] John, Lord Yester.

[5] One of the King's physicians in ordinary.

hath not I bless God had any the least touch since. But the swelling of his face continues, without any hardnes, so the Doctor concludes it onely a little rheume which by Gods help will be gone quickly. This is the whole treuth, and seing it is no wors I doe take pleasure to write it; thogh I had never so little time to write, having been so busie all day.

The other letter to E. Tweedale is ane answer to all that was askt at me. The King hath seen it & approves it. You may wonder why his Majestie does not answer, but the treuth is this. He was very well pleasd with the Councells letter, but when I askt him what answer I should prepare, he said what needs ane answer, I beleev what they write & am very well pleasd. Now you know I never press to a refusall, but did presently slip from it, and told him I should write so. What I have written may be read in the Councell if you thinke fitt. It saddles L.F.[1] as the author, so you may write againe & complaine of him if you judge it worth the while. The ball is keept up, you may toss it back againe. We met yesterday at the trads. We were desired to put in wryting what we desire as to the Act of Navigation, which we accepted greedily and we are to bring it to them upon Tuesday. This day we met our selvs heir all afternoone & agreed the materialls of the paper, which I am appointed to write against Monday afternoone. Indeed I am weary. All freinds heir are well. Dearest Brother & MR, Adieu.

(Directed 'For SS. and MR.')

XVIII. LAUDERDALE TO MORAY.

WHITEHALL, 21 *January* 1668.

This must be a short dative *ad omissa*[2] to what yow will see in that to SS. which containes all I may say as yet of publick concern. I am glade yow are pleasd with

[1] Longifacies = Alexander Burnet, archbishop of Glasgow.

[2] A Scottish legal term for an additional inventory of a deceased person's estate.

what SS. broght. It was all we could doe. Had your advices concerning L.F. comd in time, I should have strugled for it; and if upon the rise given yow in mine by the Kings command last post to SS. yow thinke fitt to write to me, I shall essay the Lairds Leg[1] once more. As to the coync[2] yow have it turnd back to the Councell. When it comes back to me I shall doe my best. Yow need not feare any more considerable pension, nor any alteration in the Kings resolves. Proceed with your accounts, be faithfull, but as gentle to persons as yow can. If I heare any thing of Carnegies[3] design on the troup I shall doe my best. I know nothing of Lord Lindores[4] busines, but I did know he was huyed away and left a signature of some of the lands of Lindores which I have not yet seen. I rejoyce at our wifes keeping the kirk. Oh if all of that perswasion were so wise as to know their interest they wold doe so too. For now I should like the choyce of that text with which I was very angrie when Cant[5] preached it 1651, and were I a gifted brother I should preach it to all Presbiterians, 'Your strenth is to sit still.'

Excuse me to my wife. It is not possible for me to answer hers of the 10th which I reccaved but yesterday. Excuse me also to my Lord St Andrews & Lord Provest.[6] Show them my publick letter to SS. I shall write when I can, but I doubt not this week which is a waiting week. Doe it also to M[c]allen[7] & to Bellenden[8] & Winkiepitcher.[9]

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[1] Probably means obtain a further audience of the King (involving bowing in the presence).

[2] A committee was appointed to adjust the currency values of foreign coinage.

[3] Robert, Lord Carnegie (afterwards 3rd Earl of Southesk), was appointed a colonel in the Militia.

[4] John, 4th Lord Lindores, succeeded to his father before 20th July 1667; the estates were heavily burdened.

[5] Mr. Andrew Cant, minister at Aberdeen; Moderator of Assembly, 1650, and joined the Protesters, 1651.

[6] Sir Andrew Ramsay of Abbotshall, provost of Edinburgh, 1655-58, and 1662-73.

[7] See Letters 46, 54.

[8] Lord Bellenden.

[9] Unidentified.

XIX. SAME TO SAME AND TWEEDDALE.

WHITEHALL, 28 *January* 1668.

What concerns our treaty of trade you will see in SS. letter. Let me add that our Dukc is perfitely indued with the spirit of contradiction, for he prest vehemently our giving in our other desires & wold receave no satisfaction but by the unanimous negative of all my fellowes. *Oh qu'il pese bien a la main.*

Now receave ane answer both to SS. last letter & yours of the 21 instant. I approve heartily of the indeavours to search for the conventicle-making outed Ministrillons (I meane alwayes remonstrators who are heart & soule enemies to the King, & I hope others will not trouble the peace). But above all see if you can take the author of seditious libells, the trumpets of rebellion, of which great conventicles are the rendevous. I know no hurt in your getting a copie of the manuscript, but I could not yet speake to the King about it. It will I hope be the indeavor of the King & all honest men to support the new fermars.[1] If yow can finde out proof who writes such letters, it deservs severe punishment. My letter to Sir Da. Inglish[2] is come to his hand & I expect by nixt post a cleir answer. As for the brandie[3] I understand not the matter; you know it best there. Onely in generall all must be done that can to preserv the ferm. Surc I shall doc my part. As for the stories of me concerning the salt,[4] I value not such clatters, but he lyes that said I wold part with Lcthingtoun erc I parted with the tack. Indeed I value Lethington much more. Lord Bellenden hath written a long letter to our Chancellor. It is very long but I know not about what.

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[1] The collection of Customs and Excise was 'farmed out' or leased to contractors for a period of years, for the highest sum offered.

[2] Sir David English was British Consul at Bordeaux, from which place wines werc importcd.

[3] The Council wrote to Laudcrdale on 31st January about the prejudice donc to the Custom and Excise by the importation of brandy.

[4] There was frequent legislation against importing foreign salt, to the prejudice of salt-pan owners and lessees.

I have receavd the copie of the Councells letter signd L.F. but shall make no use of it till I heare ane answer to what I wrotc about him before. But I am much more troubled that I cannot serv honest Earl of Kincardine.[1] That ship was appointed to be broght hither, but ten dayes agoe it was reported to the Councell board how unfitt that wold be, so she was appointed to be sold, and the money is either for the guards or Navie. I thinke for the guards, and merchants are prepard to bid for her, so I can I feare doe nothing, but I shall try.

I know nothing of Lord Carnegies design on the troup, nor can I say any thing till it come to me, and then you shall have ane account. As for Lord Stormonts[2] desire I wold faine serve him but scruple the legalitie. The desire is that the King may contrarie to a decreet of the Lords appoint the guardian to his neice. She is no ward of the Kings, but Sir Ro. Sinclare[3] sayes he may as *Communis pater patriæ*. And by the way that paper sayes all along, We, & is signd oncly Ro. Sinclar, so it seems the other lawyers refusd to sign the advice. Now I am a sworn Member of the Colledg of Justice, and to move the King by his power to break a judicial decreet deservs more advice to me then one lawyer. Let my Lord Advocat who is a Lord of Session & Earl of Tweeddale set it under their hands, & yow shall not see it stick at me. But hereafter consider before you put me to so hard a chapter which puts the bone into my foote.

Our wife desires the giving up of one Corsans[4] bond which was left in Th. Moncreiffs[5] hand. I remember it was a

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[1] Alexander Bruce, 2nd Earl of Kincardine. Though he did not get this ship, he had a gift in July 1672 of another prize of war taken from the Dutch.

[2] David, 4th Viscount Stormont: died 14th July 1668.

[3] Sir Robert Sinclair, later Dean of Faculty. Defended the Marquis of Argyll, 1661.

[4] See Letter 24. A bond for 4000 merks, illegally exacted from John Corsane of Sennick, was cancelled by the King's order, 27th February 1668.

[5] One of the Clerks of Exchequer. He purchased the lands and barony of Moncrieff from his cousin, Sir John, in 1663, and was created a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1685.

hard fine & I procured the King to suspend it. Examine the thing. Our wife can tell more then I well remember, and doe all the lawfull favor yow can. See my letter to my Lord Primat, & mine to my Lord Provest. His proposition was in generall to some near relation of mine & I give a generall answer for still I say I must not be the wower. SS. & MR send me your advice in it. I am very tyred and all your freinds heir are well.

(Directed ' For SS. & MR.')

XX. LAUDERDALE TO MORAY.

WHITEHALL, 30 *January* 1668.

Since mine to SS. was written, I have had a full audience from his Majestie & gott full orders to all I desired. So that as fast [as] I can prepare it yow will get the List which the Commissioners of Thesaurie [1] sent me (with which yow may acquaint them, for with it I will also write to them and not their Clerk). Yow will also get the letter designed unto the Councell. All I shall adde to night is, this copie to SS. of Earl of Cassillis letter to me (which is very like him). Upon it I have sent for his sone [2] to come hither.

I have intimated your pleasures to Sir W. Bellenden [3] who sayes he will keep your day & will to-morrow morning give me his parole on it. If he faile I will complane to the King.

XXI. LAUDERDALE TO TWEEDDALE.

WHITEHALL, 4 *February* 1668.

I have receaved yours & MRs & shall give yow a good account of them God willing by nixt post, for this night

[1] The administration of the Treasury was delegated to Commissioners, by the King's orders in June 1667.

[2] John, Lord Kennedy: became 7th Earl of Cassillis on his father's death in April 1668.

[3] Sir William Bellenden (see Letter 13).

your neice the Dutches of Munmouth is the second time to get the reputation of ane exeellent player, & I am to be a speetator.[1]

Since my last we have gott the inelosed paper dated 1 February, and seing we wold not let the bone remaine in our foot for wanting the giving in particulars, we have given in the inelosed paper yesterday, where I thinke we have mist no particular & have demanded also a very comprehensive generall or two. And yet we doe adhere to our former resolution of in[sisting] formally upon ane answer to the p[oint ?] about the aet of navigation before we doe treat on any thing els.[2]

I will by the nixt order Will. Sharp[3] to pay yow your money now; all I have to add is, that the King is very well pleased with your last letter. Upon it I asked his opinion if it be not more fitt to make your magazine of pouder in that out hous which I think was antiently for the smith of the Castle, & he thinkes so; therfor I recommend it to yow, for I doe not like to have the pouder nier the main Castle.

XXII. LAUDERDALE TO MORAY.

Whitehall, 11 *February* 1668.

Your preferring playing to wryting made me thinke yow wold preferr it to reading also these last posts. Now in answer to yours of 4th, Don Johns[4] wise epistle to D[uke] Hamilton which he as kindely shew to the Lady is a mighty mote in that matter. But the yong man will

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[1] Pepys relates that plays were frequently enacted for the amusement of the Court, and that on the evening of 13th January a play entitled 'The Indian Emperour' was performed, the Duke of Monmouth and others taking part. 'By those who were present it was reported that none of the ladies except the Duchess of Monmouth and Mrs. Cornwallis did anything but like fools and stocks, but that these two did do most extraordinary well.'

[2] Overtures for Union between the two Kingdoms.

[3] H.M. Cash Keeper.

[4] Don Juan, or John of Austria, illegitimate son of Philip IV. of Spain. Commander-in-chief of the Spanish forces: in disfavour after 1663.

goe to Scotland and then we may talke more of it. Sir W. Bannatine is with yow. Sure yow need no particular warrant to call him to account for the Kings money. He is now no souldier. I acquainted the King with what yow wrote of your conference, and the design of the Visitation[1] which he likes very well, and I dare promise his heartie concurrance to it when it comes. Till I heare your receipt of the Kings answer to the Councells letter, I press no more about L.F. You & SS. must give me a hint for the remove desired, and such a one as I may shew the Laird,[2] and I nothing doubt to obtaine what yow shall desire. Therfor be full in it & the modus of it, I doubt not the succes.

Tell SS. the hous of Commons had nothing this day under debate but the free exportation of horses, & the restraint of peoples going to serv France, both which are committed. The Hous is to be called on Thursday & then they goe on the great affaires.

Tell him also I have searched the records of Parliament, and the Clerk assures me neither Lady Boyer nor Mistris Harwood were ever naturalized heir.[3]

XXIII. SAME TO SAME.

Whitehall, 22 *February* 1668.

Yours of the 15 was much to the same tŭne with that from SS. So albeit mine to him may answer it, yet yow shall have two lines intreating yow to excuse me to the Commissioners of the Theasury for not answering till I receave the Kings commands & then they shall have them.

This day I dined with your morall freind. He drunke your health as he does constantly in all places where we meet. I told him the designe of the Visitation, with

[1] Sir Robert Moray made a tour of the West of Scotland in the spring of 1668, to investigate the military situation and the ministrations of the Episcopal clergy. (See *Life of Sir Robert Moray*, p. 138.)

[2] The King.

[3] In *Privy Council Register*, ii. 26, one Lady Boyar is mentioned as a creditor upon the Hamilton estates.

which he did exprcs himself highly satisfyed & said that was the very best way toward setlement.[1] Yesterday Earl of Middleton told me he had a letter from Scotland bearing that our Primat[2] had takcn leave of his friends in order to a speedy journcy hither. I told him I belecvd not a word of it. Now it is time for me to bid yow thinkc of making yow ready to come hither. You must be heir 3 weeks or a moneth before I part. Thinke therfor with SS. when yow may be spared, that I may get yow a eall.[3]

XXIV. SAME TO SAME.

Whitehall, 27 *February* 1667/8.

By my last letters to SS. yow will see the unavoydable neeessity of my not answering sooner those of 15 & 18 instant. Now yow get them I hope full & satisfactorie, so yow & SS. have no more to doe but fill & fetch more. First in my publick letter yow have the Kings orders as they were desired eonccrning T. Monereiff, W. Sharp & imparking.[4] Yow have also the Kings pleasurc signifyed as to J. Carsanes bond, of which yow must givc our wife notiee your self.

As concerning wise and worthie L.F. yow have gott your will. The Laird read your letter, then he read the letter he is to write to L.F., and said, May not the first part be enough without the other of the Counecll? I answered, Yes it may, so he frankly grantcd the first, & I stole from the other like a knotles thread. But as to thc execution I differ both from SS. & MR who wold kecp it up till May. I say *semper nocuit differre paratis*, and it should have eomd presently to have trysted the Ch[ancellor ?]

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[1] See preccding Letter. [2] Archbishop Sharp.

[3] Sir Robert Moray returned to London in June 1668, accompanied by his niece, Lady Sophia Lindsay. The state of her health and his scientific pursuits occupied his attention during the following winter. (See Letter 32, and *Life of Sir Robert Moray*, pp. 140, 141.)

[4] The enclosing of ground for park land was authorised by Act of Parliament, 1661, relating to Planting and Policy, free of taxation.

if it could have been possible for me to send the new gift to M.M. (for they must goe *simul et semell* to prevent afterclap sollicitations which will be too late after it is both taken & given). Therfor keep the matter secret & hasten to me a draught of the new gift blank in the name. It must be carefully drawen bearing the laying aside smoothly, or the easing him of it & giving it to the other. Hast it I say & then it will be a *Coup de party* indeed, I say hast it with secrecy.[1]

I have receavd Sir Ja. Turners report[2] but could not report it to the King yesterday (because I wold not outtyre him with too much at once), & this day he is gone to hunt the stag. But I doubt not to doe the thing as to his charge, but as to disposing of the money lifted, the Commissioners must write a particular opinion to be communicat to the King.

I doubt not to get the company to Earl Kellie[3] notwithstanding the ingagement for W. Arnot,[4] but yow must satisfie honest Borthwick.[5] He proposes to have the Majors place supprest, & to get that pay to himself as Lieut. of the Ordinance, which cannot be, for Urrie[6] hath

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[1] The allusion is obscure.

[2] Appointed major of six companies of foot in February 1664, and on 28th July 1666 sent in capacity of lieut.-colonel to the Western shires to exact fines. His tyrannical acts were an important cause of the Pentland Rising. He was called to account for illegal exactions in Galloway, and report was sent to the King on 20th February 1668 (*Privy Council Reg.*, ii. 407-10). He was deprived of his command on 3rd March.

[3] Alexander Erskine, 3rd Earl of Kellie, lieut.-col. in General Dalyell's Foot, 1666, and appointed lieut.-col. of Scots Footguards, 29th October 1667, in succession to Sir James Turner (Dalton's *Scots Army*). A royal letter of 3rd March 1668 transfers Turner's captaincy of a company to Kellie (*Privy Council Reg.*, ii. 426).

[4] Major William Arnot, muster master general, 1666; later captain in Lockhart's regiment of Scots Foot.

[5] Lieut.-Col. William Borthwick, captain in H.M. Foot Guards, April 1667, and promoted major in 1673. Wrote to Lauderdale from Edinburgh on 1st February about mineral working [? Leadhills]. (*Laing MSS. Report*, i. 365.)

[6] Colonel William Urrie: in October 1667 his office of major was given to Sir James Turner, and Urrie was made senior captain. He succeeded Turner as major on 3rd March 1668.

a Commission long agoe as Major & quit it to bring in Earl Kellie. Now it were unjust to lay him by upon this vacancie, and therfor yow must satisfie Borthwick & write to me when you have. The post busines[1] cannot be answered yet, nor yet that of Lundie.[2] SS. hath the rest.

XXV. SAME TO SAME.

WHITEHALL, 3 *March* 1667/8.

I have receavd yours of the 25 February and shall not whine like yow with your pretended pumping, but franckly give yow a dative *ad omissa*[3] of what yow will see in the letter to SS. But first I must tell yow I eat none till supper for I was all this day with the King at the launching the goodliest ship in the world. She caries above 100 gunnes, is longer thcn the Souveraigne, hath 15 ports in her low tire, & is much bigger then the Prince was or the last Charles. Her name is Charles. I hope the 2d Charles shalbe happy; the other was once called the Naseby, & so did thrive.

When Bell[enden] comes I shall doe the best I can with him, & when your letter of defalcations comes, if you keep your word & send me the answer you desire, with observations, I shall doe my best. Receave your Mr Mason from Jack as yow desired it.[4]

Now receave (*pour la bonne bouche*) a bravc storie. Yesterday my Lord Duke & excellent Lady Susanne[5] parted. Before he went he made me a speech, that he saw I was ane excellent freind when I pleased, that hereafter if I wold let him know what should be donc he wold never move a step amiss, nay he wold doe what Earl of

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[1] Attempts to establish regular postal communication between Scotland and Ireland had so far failed, and a committee was appointed to deal with the matter, 9th January 1668 (*Privy Council Reg.*, ii. 387).

[2] ? Alexander Duncan of Lundie.

[3] See Letter 18.

[4] A book (?) sent by the hand of ? John Kirkwood, Lauderdale's servant.

[5] See Letter 15.

Tweeddale & yow should advise; in a word he promised to be very good. My answer was short, that I am willing byganes be byganes, so we have faire play in time to come. He said little less to the King. But I must tell you & make the right use of it, if he be rude to Lady Margaret[1] or to his Lady for her sake, up goes all manner of gossiprie for ever.

I desire that SS. send a letter to meet at Berwick & invite him & Lady Susanne to Yester, where yow may tune him & advise her about passing her pension which is yet a secret heir.

The Parliament hath done nothing material since my last.

I am more greivd than yow that I can doe now nothing for honest Kincardin. I knew that ship was impossible, money is not to be parted with heir. She is sold for 1200 li. ready money & without my knowledg till it was done.[2]

XXVI. LAUDERDALE TO TWEEDDALE.

Whitehall, 23 *April* 1668.

Yours of the 16 requires no answer, and I have onely time to tell yow 2 words, but they shall be important ones. This day I have had a full crack with my honest freind, and we have resolved not to pursue the treaty[3] any further unles they doe it (which I doe not expeet), but that the King shall doe it himself in Councell. For by the law his Majestie may dispence with the Act of Navigation, and hath done it all this warre to all nations. We are to prepare fitt instruments to do it all nixt week and the week after we will give it a tryall. The old Laird[4] is fully of this minde. This will put us quickly to our witts

[1] See Letter 13 (p. 142). [2] See Letter 19.

[3] ? The Triple Alliance, made between England and Holland in January, and joined by Sweden in April: to force Louis XIV. of France to make peace with Spain.

[4] Obscure.

end, but above all things yow must keep this most exactly secret from all but MR. Against nixt week or about the end of it yow shall know more. Your freinds are all well. There are 7 in my roome when I write this.

XXVII. SAME TO SAME.

WHITEHALL, last *April* 1668.

You are a good fellow & writes even from Nidpeth,[1] from whence I had yours of the 22. I have obeyd your opinion & was resolvcd before not to give our List of Ships till we see whither they will make any good use of it. This night I have dispatched to my Lord Chancellor all that concerns our Militia. By last post you had the copie of the letter & of the List wherein there is no alteration, onely Bonimoonc[2] is named Lieut. Col. to Lord Carnegie. Your advice which you send me in your last does mc no good, for my brother behoved to be Captain of hors to Linlithgow & Peebles seing Sir Ja. Primrose wold not have it.[3] And as for Argyll I could not reade neither by your last nor by the old List whither you meant Lochiel who is cheif of Clan Cameron or Lochyell Campbell.[4] Therfor you must hast that exact, and both a Lieutenant Colonel and a Major for me. Perhaps Major Bigger of Wolmot wold be a good cnough Major.[5] Thinkc on it, send me a speedy opinion that I be not lagman. The toune of Edinburgh is as yow wold have it. Heir is the instructions just as they are sent. I chooscd rather

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[1] Neidpath Castle, in Peeblesshire, was one of the Earl's houses.

[2] James Carnegie of Balnamoon. The List, with Instructions, is printed in *Privy Council Reg.*, ii. 440, 441.

[3] Charles Maitland of Halton: and (prob.) Sir James Primrose of Barnbougle, half-brother of 1st Earl of Rosebery.

[4] Neither Allan Cameron of Lochiel nor Colin Campbell of Lochnell was appointed. Sir John Colquhoun of Luss was appointed lieut.-colonel in December 1668 (*Privy Council Reg.*, ii. 579).

[5] Major John Biggar of Woolmet, near Musselburgh. The appointments made eventually in July 1668 were Sir John Nicolson of Lasswade as lieut.-colonel and Sir John Couper of Gogar as major (*Ibid.*, ii. 493).

to make them materialls for instructions to be added or altered by the Councell, alwayes conforme to the Kings letter, rather then to send them positive instructions from the King. You have gott your will as to Sir Peter,[1] & shall have by Twesdayes post what does concern the Shereiff Clerk of Forfar.[2] The King laught heartily as to your news of L.F. And for news againe, be it knowen to you the Spanish plenipotentiary had wisely signed the treaty, & the ratification is comd from Spaine.[3] Our Parliament will certainly adjorne next week. We have some weake hopes that our Queen is with childe, she keeps her bed, but alas *Ego tam misere cupio ut vix credam.* 'Nostre fils' & all your freinds are very well at Highgate. I dined there yesterday.

XXVIII. SAME TO SAME.

HIGHGATE, 14 *September* 1668.

MY LORD,—Upon the desire of Major Monro & some of the Captaines of my Lord George Douglas regiment, for his Majesties leave to levie 300 men in Scotland for the recrute of that regiment, the King was gratiously pleased to expres such a value of that regiment who came over so handsomely for his service that he commanded me to signifie his allowance that they levie without beating drums such as wilbe willing to the number of three hundred & transport them to France.[4] This his Majesties pleasure I have signifyed to my Lord Chancellar. I am sure they will not offer to take any of the Kings regiment,

[1] Sir Peter Wedderburn of Gosford, who relinquished his post as Clerk of Privy Council on being appointed a Lord of Session (*Ibid.*, ii. 468).

[2] William Gray of Haystoun: charged with interfering with a Signature after it had passed the King's hand. His fine of £1000 sterling was gifted to Lauderdale in November. (*Treasury Sederunt Books.*)

[3] See preceding Letter.

[4] George, Lord Douglas, had permission in September 1666 to levy 200 men for his Scots regiment serving abroad, and again in September 1667 for 300 men (*Privy Council Reg.*, ii. 198, 354). There is no reference in the Council register to this further levy.

nor of the souldiers of the Militia. Therfor I hope you will give them your countenance. I am, Your Lordships most humble servant, LAUDERDAILL.

XXIX. SAME TO SAME.

WHITEHALL, 15 *September* 1668.

This must adde to what is in my other. And first as to Sir Wa[lter] Seaton, seing it is put to me, I wold not move without the King, and considering W. Sharps interest I behoved to be better then yow, therfor I tell yow the King wilbe content with 3000 lib. sterlin in money & the quitting the tack of the salt.[1] This summe will buy the Bass.[2] The quitting the tack accomodats the fermars of the Customes. This I have advised Sir Walter to offer, & this I advise yow to take, which I assure yow the King will accept. MR did heare it, said little, but was ill pleased afterwards. If yow mislike it too, then learne not to trust my good nature nor consent to referr such a matter to me againe. The Earl of Cassillis[3] hath put me wood[4] by a snivling letter he hath written to me desiring to be excused from the Militia troup. It pleases me so ill I will thinke before I write ane answer. It is past my power, the King hath named him, the Councell appointed him. The King cannot recall it, and if he refuse it he ruines his reputation & all interest and wilbe stated in opposition, lookt on as a fanatick, and be

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[1] Among the redresses achieved by Moray and Tweeddale was that of removing Sir Walter Seton of Abercorn from his position as farmer of the Customs, thereby increasing their control of the revenue (cf. Airy, ii. 73). He must have retained a lease of the salt tax, and is now advised to relinquish.

[2] In October 1671, Lauderdale was made Captain of the Bass, which was bought by the King and turned into a prison. It was the Earl who prevailed with the King to buy it from Sir Andrew Ramsay for £4000 sterling, and drew the rents himself (*Wodrow*, i. 344).

[3] John, 7th Earl of Cassillis, was served heir to his father on 22nd September 1668. He did not favour the Lauderdale administration.

[4] =mad.

as insignifieant as his father. The best service I can doe is to eonceale it, whieh I will till I see if you can bring him to more wit. I have angerd MR to day by moving the King to take eours for paying his debt. His Majestie with all the kindenes imaginable commanded that you & I should thinke how to doe it, I beseech therfor breake your head on it. In the meane time the King eommands that the gift of the late Lord Rutherforts[1] escheit be given to W. Sharpe. This angerd MR wors, but it is the Kings pleasure.

The King hath given permission to the offieers of Lord George Douglas regiment to levy privatly 300 men, without beating drums, and by his Majesties command I have intimated both to my Lord Chancellar & to yow his concurrance. The letter went with them journey. They parted yesterday and therfor Col. Scot wold doe well to make hast. This night I write to my Lord Chancellar & gives him notice of the Kings eonnivence as to Seots & the French levies. Your freinds at Highgate are very well. So, D. B., Adieu.

(Directed ' For your self.')

XXX. SAME TO SAME.

Charing Crosse, 30 *October* 1668.

Yesternight I was foreed to write so many letters at the desire of my Lord St Andrews (who is gone this morning & as it seems most exceeding well satisfyed), that when I came to write my ordinar letter by the pacquet I was so wearie that I could not answer yours of the 22 nor tell yow what I promised concerning what our Primat hath done heir. And now I doe it a day by advance beeause the King being gone to Newmarket I goe

[1] Andrew, 1st Lord Rutherford, created Earl of Teviot in 1663, was killed by the Moors in 1664, and succeeded by a distant kinsman, Sir Thomas Rutherford of Hunthill, as 2nd Lord Rutherford. He died 11th April 1668, and his brother Archibald became 3rd Lord Rutherford. The lady to whom he was betrothed was the original of Scott's *Bride of Lammermoor*.

to Hamton Court (where a great deale of good companie is now) to put off 3 or 4 dayes in hunting and taking fresh aire. First then as to your letter of Wednesdayes post last, yow promise a letter from Earl Marr[1] but yow have not sent it, and it is all one for I beleeve it. Yow tell me of Earl Kingorns[2] discontent. Those are humors I have been long hardend against & so must yow. But the humor is very unjust if men were not ill judges in their owne case ; for how could he expect (who never appeared for the King) that both Airly & Dundie[3] who have been so long in armes for the King should not be preferd to him in a military imployment. He may thinke it faire all things considered that he is comd in now, but if he will pet, let him, I cannot help it. As to your storie of the Clergies clatters in the west, I beleev they are so foolish that they are acted into that sensles folie by L.F. & that he is incorrigible thogh he were breyd in a mortar. Nay I know he does all the hurt he can by his letters to Bishop of Winchester[4] (for with Archbishop of Cant[erbury] he can doe no hurt). I know he wrote that he wold be content of a personage in England (& I heartily wish he had two), but I know not what remedy. I did yesternight reade as much of your letter as was fitt to our primat to show yow take him to be implacable to him, which I found him ready enough to beleev, but of your remedies I onely proposed his translatione into Ireland, where I heartily wish him ane Archbishop, at which he laughed, but I wold goe no further. Yow may judge how farre yow will talke farther with him.

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[1] John, Earl of Mar, died in September 1668, and was succeeded by his son Charles, a boy of 16, who had a grant of his father's escheat on 8th October.

[2] Patrick, 3rd Earl of Kinghorn (created 1677 Earl of Strathmore), was appointed Captain of Horse in Forfarshire Militia on 29th September 1668 *vice* Earl of Dundee, deceased.

[3] James, 2nd Earl of Airlie, and the Earl of Dundee were nominated Captains of Horse in Lord Carnegy's regiment in a List dated 29th April 1668. John Scrimgeour, 3rd Viscount Dudhope (created Earl of Dundee 1661), died without issue, 23rd June 1668. The title was revived in 1688 on the creation of John Graham of Claverhouse as Viscount Dundee.

[4] George Morley, who preached the coronation sermon, 1661.

Now as to his owne cariage heir. At first he was very civill & kindc to mc & his expressions most handsome. After his good reception by thc King he scemed more & more heartie till onc day, just the Monday before we went to Newmarket, he came to dinner to Highgate. I chanced that day to be out of humor, God knowes nothing relating to him. He fell into one of his old melancholie fitts to that extremitie that no thing I could say nor profess could pacify him, nor could I get him to tell what he acted or what hc suspected. This continued after he came to toune, but by invincible patience I did prettie well quiet him, & at my being at Audley end by letters & messagcs he was perfitely cured. And at my returne I found all well, & we have been since greater then ever. His desires were moderat, some not considerable signature & a prorogation for six yeers of the time given by Parliament to the toune of St Andrews for excise on their owne drinke.[1] One thing was considerable, he desired a renewing of the warrant granted seven yeer agoe for 200 lib. yeerly out of the Excise to the university of St Andrews which never past. I told him the excise could not be chargd with such a locality, but I wold indeavor it at large upon the revenue. This is done. It is no great matter & is for a very good & pious use. Thus we are parted very well & his reports every where have been very good. But I never durst speake to him about composing of Church matters, for Douglas & Hutchison[2] are so high that I expect no good from them. Yow may adjust those matters & the western visitation[3] better there with him & with less jealousie then I could have done heir.

Now as to my brother, there is no question the bargan were advisable if there were no more in it but a dimission

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[1] Grants from taxation were made to various burghs from time to time for maintenance of churches and for public improvements.

[2] Probably Mr. Robert Douglas, minister of Greyfriars, Edinburgh, and Mr. George Hutchison, minister of Tolbooth, Edinburgh, two of the clergy deprived in 1662, who accepted the Indulgence of 1669. Cf. Airy, ii. 106-9.

[3] See Letter 22.

reserving the pension; but for the 1000 lib. I look upon it as impracticable, for I am sure the King wold not give it, and I shall never advise my brother to give any thing; but of this more by the nixt. In the meane time to shew yow how resolved my brother is to doe what I did charge him as to yow, & how well satisfyed he is with yow, I send yow heir his letter to me after he had waited on yow.[1]

Your last by this post of the 27 requires no answer, it being onely to accompany Earl of Cathnes remission[2] which I shall doe my best to obtaine assoone as the King comes back this nixt week. The other page of this letter was written yesterday, I now conclude it this morning & can write no more till Tuesday to any bodie, being going to my hors for Hamton Court.

Your freinds heir are very well, God be blest. '31 Octob. 1668.'

XXXI. SAME TO SAME.

WHITEHALL, 10 *of November* 1668.

Yow doc indeed beginne with your left foot foremost in yours of 3 instant, for my Ladies being safe broght to bed was the best news I could heare out of Scotland at this time, God be blest for it.[3] I am glade both for the Kings service & for my Lord Dukes sake that the hors of Cliddisdale are so forward, but am very much ashamed on many accounts that I heare nothing of Fife, & not well pleasd I heare little of Perthshire or Angus.[4] As to the hors of that last shire I am discouraged to write what yow desired to that Noble Lord seing he does so positively

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[1] On the death of John, Earl of Dundee, his estates and the heritable offices of Constable of Dundee and royal standard-bearer were granted to Lord Halton in 1670. This may have reference to some preliminaries.

[2] Remission was granted under the great seal on 5th November 1668 in favour of George, Earl of Caithness, and many other Sinclairs who had invaded Strathnaver against the Munros.

[3] See Introduction, p. 117.

[4] Choice of Militia officers.

refuse in his letter to me, but if yow bid me againe I shall indeavor it.

I have spoke to his Majestie as to Barskobe.[1] He commands me to write to yow that in case he can discover the actor of the damnd assasine upon the Bishop, & so discover it so as justicc may be done, that yow may assure him of his peace, and also a reward as yow judge fitt. Such also as yow judg incorrigible of the rebells yow may cause send them hither & they shalbe transported; but this last will come best in ane answer to the Councells letter.

Let not unkles preeept trouble yow. Yow know I could not refuse my indeavors, & the King did it at first word. But yow need not be pinched with it, if any easualitie offer let him have it, there is no danger that your fellowes will doe wonders for him.

Yow have all I could tell yow of our Primat; only having seen yours to MR of a secret he wrote to yow concerning me, doe not trouble your self, I am not hastie, & I know the man too well to hurt my self with him. I know the caracter yow give of him is a true one.

Trouble your self not with the news of chanses heir. Their is nothing yet done as to a change in the Government in Ireland.[2] I doe not answer what may be. But I doe not belcev we shall have any Thesaurer in Great Brittaine in hast. Those are but Coffee news,[3] trouble your self no more, I will tell yow what is and what I know will be, but I will not prophecie.

Reeeave heirwith our new Commission & instruetions

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[1] John Maclellan of Barscob was the leader of a party of Covenanters who captured Sir James Turner in Dalry on 13th November 1666 and marched on Edinburgh. On 11th July 1668 a shot was fired at Archbishop Sharp in the High Street of Edinburgh, which wounded Andrew Honeyman, Bishop of Orkney, who was beside him. James Mitchell, the assailant, was eventually executed in 1678.

[2] The commission to James Butler, Duke of Ormond, as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, was recalled on 7th March 1669, and John, Lord Robartes, was chosen to succeed him. He held office till May 1670, and was created Earl of Radnor, 1679.

[3] Coffee-house talk.

for trade. Peruse them at leasure, but give no copies. Yow may shew them to freinds.

I thoght yow wold have said something to me as to the Proclamation for observing the treaty with Dort. It is a shame that ships goe contemtuously to Roterdam.[1] I pray yow either issue a Proclamation or advise me to send a warrand for one. I have no other news but that Don John fearing to be snapt is gone into Arragon; I feare troubles there.[2]

Our cousin Sir Charles Areskine[3] is earnest for the arrears of his fee. I dare not open that doore. But his nixt motion is modest enough; he desires that seing his was a constant fee, that he may be allowed to retaine what yow aske from him for his fifteenths. I pray yow doe it if yow can. Your freinds heir are very well & Little man[4] is now a very good companion.

XXXII. SAME TO SAME.

Charing Cross, 12 *of November* 1668.

I have gott yours of the 5th, but the Counceils letter which both yow & the Clerk of Counceil mention came not to my hands, so I am not to be blamed if the answer be delayed. Yow need not expect MR this winter, his delight his heart is heir, & so his presence wold doe yow little good. He spends at least 9 houres each day in the Laboratorie.[5] The warrand for Bishop of Orkney[6] shall come; it was onely forgott. The rest of your letter requires no answer.

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[1] Sir William Davidson was in 1661 appointed Conservator of Scots privileges in Holland. The rival claims of Rotterdam, Dort (Dordrecht) and Campvere (Veere) for the trade of Scots merchants made his administration difficult, and he resigned in 1671. The staple was transferred in September 1668 from Campvere to Dort, but Rotterdam continued to take much of the trade.

[2] See Letter 22.

[3] Sir Charles Erskine of Alva, Lyon King of Arms.

[4] Charles, eldest son of Lord Yester.

[5] See Letter 23.

[6] See Note to preceding Letter.

Yow have heard of Earl Angleseys strange Petition to his Majestie wherin he asserted his right to his place, and desire to have the Judges called that he might be heard in Councell, insinuating that the Parliament is in being & he a Peer.[1] On Fryday he gott a message by a Clerk of Councell to forbeare the Councell board, and yesterday his Majestie in Councell orderd a home answer in wryting to his Petition, that it came late, the Commission for the place being given under the broade seale, which his Majestie sees no cause to alter ; that he leavis him to law, but having good ground to thinke he servd not well as Vice Thesaurer in Ireland his Majestie thoght not fitt till that was cleird to trust him with the Treasure of the Navie. This is the substance. If it be possible for yow, stop any confirmation of Dalswinton[2] till yow heare from me by the nixt. Your freinds are very well.

XXXIII. SAME TO SAME.

Whitehall, 17 *November* 1668.

This day was solemly appointed for the first of the union, but none was at it but Lord Keeper, Duke of Buck[ingham], MR & I. We talked freely & fairely & agreed that I should bring in some preliminaries in wryting upon Saterday nixt of which we are to talke & of which yow shall have ane account. It lookes very fairly.[3]

What yow said of Lord Bellendens condition maid me to secure the place for my brother when ever it vakes by death or dimission. The King hath frankly promised it. Earl of Kincardin is provyded, and I may be allowed to provide for my brother nixt. Therfor I pray yow be

[1] Arthur Annesley, Earl of Anglesey, appointed Treasurer of the Navy in July 1667, was suspended from that office in November 1668. He appealed to the Committee of privileges.

[2] See next Letter.

[3] Cf. Letter 12. The Lord Keeper was Sir Orlando Bridgman, keeper of great seal in succession to the Earl of Clarendon. George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, was a Privy Councillor.

franck & kinde to him on the matter & I hope he will mend his faults.

Heir are 3 papers. Give one to Lord Salton.[1] Give the precept to my Lord Primat, for I promised it. The thrid for Dalswinton is thus: Richard Protector gave it to Mr Ro. Hodge for his Highnes use; the King will give it me if it be worth it, but for order sake, to avoyd envy & to the end the King may know what he gives, I have put it in W. Sharps name.[2]

Melgum[3] swears it is of great value & cleir, therfor I pray yow present it to pass as it is; and shortly yow shall heare more of it. This is all for yourself.

XXXIV. SAME TO SAME.

Whitehall, 17 *November* 1668.

I commanded Jack[4] to write that it was not possible for me to write on Saterday, so now I have two to answer. And first as to that of the 7, I am glade yow have a Gilberte in your family & glader that it is not your eldest sone.[5] I have not yet spoke to the King as to the idle fancie concerning Earl of Eglintons figarie[6] which I dare

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[1] Alexander Abernethy, Lord Saltoun, died unmarried about end of November. He was involved in much litigation.

[2] There is a signature by Richard, Lord Protector, dated 17th December 1658, for a charter in favour of Mr. Robert Hodges, Solicitor General for the Commonwealth, of the lands and barony of Dalswinton which had fallen to the Crown. At the end of the deed it is declared that the gift and benefit thereof is to be applied solely to the use of his Highness and his successors. Sharp's interest has not been traced.

[3] James Maule of Melgund. For his knowledge of the diving-bell he was employed by the Earl of Argyll in 1666 to recover treasure from a ship of the Armada that foundered near Tobermory. He was a man of fertile genius (cf. Letter 40).

[4] See Letter 25.

[5] Gilbert, 6th son of Lord Tweeddale, was born 6th November 1668.

[6] Hugh, 7th Earl of Eglinton, died at end of February 1669. He was reluctant to conform to the policy of the Government. 'Figarie' is probably 'fykerie'=trouble over trifles (see Jamieson's *Dict. of Scot. Language*).

say never enterd into any head but his owne, for I am surc none heir once drcamd of it; so yow may venture to assure Earl of Cassillis, but yow shalbe at a certainty by the next. I am sorie for Earl of Wintons[1] travells but sorier for the cause. I wish yow may agree them, and then the other Lords travell shall not trouble me, who it may bc may see his wife but never his charge; but of this more when yow say what yow promise. The reason why I proceeded not on the union when the King was at Newmarket was not my love of hauking & aire, but because I wold not beginne it without the Duke of Buckinghame (who is most zealous in the matter), and I went to Hamton Court to be merrie in good company till the King should returne. *Nostre fils* shall come to yow but I will carry him, & of this more after Christmas.

Now as to your 2d of the 10. Your measures are very good as to the Customers; goe on as yow say & I dare promise the King will doe what yow advise. Your advice is excellent as to Earl of Caithnes, I wish it may be followed, for agreement is much better then such a pardon[2] which was necessarie to save so neir a freind; but it will doe best if it secure him without being made publick. As to Lieut. Gen. Drummond yow have the heft & blade in your owne hand; dispose of me as to that as yow see cause. Yow doe well to say no more of MR, he will doe yow no good this yeer, & himself neither hurt nor good heir.

XXXV. SAME TO SAME.

Whitehall, 24 *November* 1668.

My diversions arc so grcat that yow must not onely pardon me but excuse my seldome wryting. Now I have 3 to answer & it is past 8 when I beginne. I shall follow

[1] George, 4th Earl of Winton; served in France with the Prince of Condé; appointed colonel of Linlithgow and Peebles Militia in December 1669.

[2] See Letter 30.

what you approve by yours of 12 concerning Earl Cassillis.[1] Fearc not that Ireland shall mingle in our matter. Yow shall have the Kings answer concerning banished rogues. As to yours of 14 I thanke yow for your care of my pension & precept. I shall ward all I can against pensions & precepts, but it wilbe fitt for my ease that the Commissioners of Thesaurie writc to me to beg of the King to hold his hand till pensioners dyc out, that his Exchequer loose not their crcdite. I shall doe my best to pump Mr Colingwood & advcrtise yow.[2] I pray tell me if yow suspect any other correspondence. I like weli of Sir Ja. Nicholsons[3] dcaling for Dudistons, when I know more from yow yow shall havc my opinion. I shall follow your advice as to Earl of Kinghorn[4] in yours of 17. I am interrupted.

XXXVI. SAME TO SAME.

1 *December* 1668.

On Thursday I was necessarily hinderd from wryting, and on Saterday my cold grew so troublesome that I did let blood for it; which fell unhappily, for it was appointed for a meeting of the Union which I could not move them to keep without mc. I was much the better for bleeding, & my cold I bless God is going away, so that I meanc to goe abroad to morrow; not having stirrd out since Fryday night except that yesterday I went & talked with the King about some busines heir. What is in your Thursday & Saterdayes letter shalbe answered God willing by Thursdayes post. Yesternight I rceeavd your great dispatch concerning the Kings customes. I am cleirly of your minde that they must bc cased of their farmc

[1] Tweeddale's letter of 12th is reported in Airy, ii. 122, but omits any mention of Cassillis.

[2] ? Mr. Daniel Collingwood, who later was appointed governor of Holy Island (*Cal. of Treasury Books*, vol. 3).

[3] Sir James Nicolson of Cockburnspath.

[4] Patrick, Earl of Kinghorn (see Letter 30).

and in the way that yow propose; but MR & I must digest all into heads and agree betwixt our selvs, then cary it to the King & receave his orders, which I dare say will be sutable to your advice. Yesternight I sent all your letters to MR, but it was neither possible for us to talke all over much less to digest it into heads & cary it to the King. But it shall if it please God be done in good time. In the meane MR sent me the inclosed letter which I doe approve of. But I must adde that I doe thanke yow for your motion concerning your self. It is so reasonable & I know the King to be so just that I nothing doubt of it; sure I shall doe my part.

I am very heartily vext with Lord Bellendens impertinence. He is ane old fretfull man; I wish I had been by & heard it.[1] My Lord Middleton writes to me most pittifull earnestly for his Mertimes pension; I doe wish he had it. Your freinds are very well. For Gods sake hast Sir Al. Fraser[2] if he be not parted, for our daughters time is within 3 weeks. My brother is much satisfyed with your kindnes.

XXXVII. SAME TO SAME.

3 *December* 1668.

By my last I promised yow ane answer to two omitted, now take it together with ane answer to yesterdayes and another to boot; so I wish I could pay other debts as well as I shall your letters.

To yours of 19 November, I am glad yow have a care of Dallswinton busines.[3] Yow have ere now a gift of it to W. Sharp, I wold not take it till the King know what it is. Melgum swears it is great & cleir; to his discoverie I leave it. Yow forget to tell the discovery yow promise in that letter. It is reasonable the discoverer have a

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[1] An angry dispute about clearing the Treasurer's accounts. Cf. Airy, ii. pp. 123, 124.

[2] See Letter 17.

[3] See Letter 33.

share. As also yow forget the prospect yow say yow have of moncy considerable. By the inclosed from the Magistrats of Dort yow will see how faine they wold have our coale.[1] It is certainly fittest for the place of the staple, and by what Sir W. Davidson writes yow will see they will also deale with our salt. Earl Kincardin is in a great mistake, for Roterdam basely slighted us, Tervere[2] was not able, & sure Dort was best. Sure the Coalmasters will not treat without the Kings leave. Speake with Earl Kincardin about it. I doubt not Dort will doe their busines. Receave back your List of new Pensions with marginall notes to cleir how free I am. I shall doe all I can for future.

As to yours of 24, I dare boldly say what ever my Lord Provest[3] have been told, my Lord Primat moved the King in nothing that did relate to him, & what ever he shall desire I shall serv him fathfully & deale franckly with him. Now in answer to yesterdayes letter, I am vexed with Bellendens constant impertineneies.[4] Yow will see what I wrote to W. Sharp on Twesday to be shewed to him, but to yow first. What I say there of Sir W. Seaton[5] may mis[t]ify him as to the farmers. I shall not oppose your raising dust about him, so it may fright him & not involve his principall. In a word I wold faine have him out. MR will say more to yow on this subject. I shall indeavor what yow propose concerning Newbyth & Hayston.[6]

Heir with I send you ane account of our yesterdayes excellent meeting[7]; and althogh I thinke secrecie absolutely necessarie, yet it is necessarie that yow speake with con-

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[1] See Letter 31. Coal was not one of the staple commodities, but coalmasters were willing to agree with some town in the United Provinces.

[2] Terveer, in the Island of Walcheren (at mouth of Scheldt).

[3] Sir Andrew Ramsay of Abbotshall.

[4] See preceding Letter.

[5] See Letter 29.

[6] Sir John Baird of Newbyth, a Lord of Session: Mr. John Hay of Haystoun, a Clerk of Session. Signatures were granted in their favour changing the holding of their lands from ward to taxt ward.

[7] About the Union.

fident persons about it with the obligation of secrecie, and the Lord Chancellar[1] cannot be neglected. Therfor I have written the inclosed with a flying seale that if yow like the imparting it to him yow may doe so. Deliver my letter and so proceed; if yow thinke it too carly yow may burne my letter.

Your freinds are very well, onely my wife is much troubled with a cold, & mine is not yet gone.

(Directed 'For Your Self.')

XXXVIII. [*Copy*] LAUDERDALE TO LORD CHANCELLOR (*enclosed with preceding*).

WHITEHALL, 3 *December* 1668.

MY DEARE LORD,—There is a busines[2] of weight enough that a knot of good fellowes have been hammering upon some times & which now beginnes to looke as if something might be made out of it by Gods blessing & good guiding.

We are paroled but not sworne secrecie, and I have now good warrand to communicat it to you & to Earl Tweedale that you talke of it with such two or 3 at first as you are confident of, and that you keep the matter secret. Two papers wilbe communicated to yow by Earl of Tweeddale with a narrative of the matter. I need say no more, but to desire your thoghts with freedome. It is a worke our Master is much set upon, as it lookes now to me as something probable, and now all that talke together seem very forward & but few differences are among us. All our designe is to offer something to the King as a discourse betwixt freinds without any formall authority either as Committee or Commissioners, that he may doe with it what he pleases. Thogh we have had few formall meetings, yet some of us have talked the matter very very often. And so, Adieu.

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[1] John, Earl of Rothes.

[2] Project for Union.

D.B.—This is the just copie of what I have written of our great busines to my Lord Chancellor. You must doe your best that the dates of these papers doe not discover you had them long agoe.

XXXIX. LAUDERDALE TO TWEEDDALE.

WHITEHALL, 5 *December* 1668.

I have receavd your letter by yesterdayes post, & am as willing to compound for short letters on Saterday or any day els, but this I could not balke nor will I any materiall.

The King is not in the generall for collections, he is more for ferms, but for this there seems a necessity; for the business of the salt must be setled, of which the King hath some designe as MR hath acquainted yow. If we agree with the Union our booke of rates, Excise & all must be altered. And besides I thinke we must not hazard the reputation of our new fermers. In my opinion they must be fermd for a yeer, & then if there be ane union there is ane end; if not, then after another yeers collection they may be farmed. In a word what yow propose the King will approve. I am for mortifying the impertinent old man[1] but not for extinguishing the office. Send me a copie of the Commission for the Thesaurie & we shall indeavor to put Kincardin & Cochran[2] in their right places. Yow must of necessity stop Earl Weems signature; it is ane old one when the barne doores were open & yet even then it was refused at Exchequer. He sent up a new one with Earl Rothes, & it was wisely againe recommended by MR, but I wold never pass it. It is to take us all for fooles, for the harbor is for his privat advantage; make it custome free it ruines all the salt owners of Scotland together with the Kings design

[1] Lord Bellenden, as one of the Commissioners of Treasury.

[2] Alexander, Earl of Kincardine, was on 3rd September 1668 appointed one of the Commissioners of Treasury. William, Lord Cochrane (created Earl of Dundonald in 1669), was already a Commissioner.

of salt.[1] Stop it therfor, stop it, stop it. Your sone is a good agent & returnes yow your 2 letters.

XL. SAME TO SAME.

8 *December* 1668.

Seing by former letters yow were well satisfyed with the great designe which this bearer the Laird of Melgim proposed concerning the Kings right to the few dueties of Kirklands, onely yow thoght the time not proper now, we have been talking of the great prejudice the vassalls receave by actions of reductions of their fews, the danger they lye under, & the prejudice the King sustaines by new infeftments taken with diminution of the rentall, & by conversions of victuall into little silver duety. For remedy of all which it is proposed that the King grant a commission to one for inspection of the rights (which wilbe easy by a summonds of improbation), by which the proposer offers the great advantage to the King. Now this thogh very plausible is too hard a taske for me, therfor I doe recommend the bearer to give yow further information, that if yow like it you may speake with my Lord Advocat & then cause draw up such a legall commission as will be fitt & send it to me to be past, or els if yow thinke the great designe faisable & seasonable yow may goe on with it.

The bearer does also propose great advantages of vast summes of money to be raised not from the Countrey but from collectors who have cheated the Country, and this is to be by calling Collectors of Shires to account; by calling for rests of Excise (not within Lord Bellendens gift, which is payed) & of other publick dues in the Usurpers times; and by bonds which are in his hands which may be compounded for privatly or called to publick account if there were authority for it. Of these three particulars he will give yow full information. In all

[1] The Earl obtained in 1660 right to build a harbour at Methil, and it was in use from September 1664 for exporting his coal and salt.

which yow will use secrecie & send me up such signatures as wilbe necessarie, and this by the bearers adviee, who must needs have his just advantage for sueh discoveries when they shall come to be effeetuall. Of all these I will expeet a full answer after yow have setled the matters.

XLI. SAME TO SAME.

Whitehall, 12 *December* 1668.

The beginning of yours of the 5 was very weleome, giving me still better hopes of Lady Margarets reeovery.[1]

I am sorie for the Earl of Wintons travelling, but seing he will goe, a pass cannot be denyed him.[2] The King hath granted it & I shall Godwilling send it by Twesdayes post.

I am very glade of the Northern agreement & that the Commission is to be altered ; I hope well now of the peaee there.[3]

The busines of the Earl of Homes signature hath been ill guided, but nothing I thinke ean be done more heir, at least I am sure till I heare from you.[4]

As coneerning the gift of Dalswintons reeognition,[5] the Laird of Melgim sayes it is worth triple that value ; alwayes he takes journey within few dayes. You will doe best to suspend any agreement till he comes, and I assure yow I shall then be for moderat agreement & not for rigor, but it is good to be informed.

I am glade you are in hopes of 2000 lib. sterlin eomposition money. That will help to doe your busines & Kellies too, of which I hope to heare from you as you promised about Christmas. As eoneerning our thoghts as to the farmers MR hath the papers & promised to

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[1] This may refer to Tweeddale's eldest daughter, born 1659, married in 1675 Robert, Earl of Roxburgh, and died 1753.

[2] See Letter 34.

[3] Possibly referring to the dispeace between Sinclairs and Munros, dealt with by Privy Council at this time (cf. Letter 30).

[4] James, 3rd Earl of Home, died December 1666, succeeded by his son Alexander as 4th Earl.

[5] See Letter 33.

make ane abstract of them fitt for the Kings view, but he hath not yet done it; and I cannot well see what we can doe till you state it there, & then you wilbe sure of a lift according to your desire.

In the meane time that you may see what kinde of opposition you are like to meet with, together with a tast of Lord Bellendens continuing peevishnes, I doe heir send yow a copie of his Exceptions & of his letter to me, which I assure you shall have a sutable answer nixt week. Yow will not make any publick use of them, but it was fitt for me to send them to yow. And now having answered yours let me tell yow great news.

Yesterday his Majestie in Councell orderd a Proclamation for proroging the Parliament till 19 October 1669. You know adjurning continues the priviledg against sutes for Members & their servants and leaves all things thogh not perfited to be followed on; but proroging leaves justice free and puts an end to all that had not the Royall assent. The reasons the King gave was, that the Land tax expyring at Christmas, & the Kings necessities not pressing, nor any feare of invasion or trouble, His Majestie thoght fitt to give the Countrey some moneths assurance of ease. He thoght it likewise for the honor of the Parliament that justice should not be so long interrupted. But many philosophat on weaghtier reasons. All men concluded a breach unavoydable betwixt the two houses upon the busines of Skinner,[1] upon which they parted in the greatest huff; now that is by prorogation certainly at ane end. The fanaticks are pleasd that the bill of conventicles is to begin againe. Others rejoyce that the great bussell about miscariages is laid to sleep. For my part I dare not so philosophat, but sure I thinke it was a most wise action in the King, & will generally satisfie sober men.

This day I sent yow a prettie booke by Andrew Foster.[2]

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[1] East India Company complained of one Skinner adventuring privately with his ship. Referred to in King's speech in May 1668 (*House of Lords Journal*).

[2] ? Captain Andrew Forrester (or Foster), King's bowmaker, son of Alexander F. of Edertoun.

It is written by Dr Patrick, minister of Coventgarden.[1] The Councell shall by the nixt have ane answer to their last commands.

XLII. SAME TO SAME.

WHITEHALL, 15 *December* 1668.

Before I answer yours of the 8th I must put my best foot formost & tell yow that *Nostre fille* blessed be God was safe brought to bed on Sunday last 13 about noone of another great boy, bigger then the last was, yea I sweare bigger then my Lord Candish[2] boy who is 3 moneths old. Her labor was as short but sharper then the other; she roared to purpose & is right well, God be blest, for one of her condition, & the childe strong & healthfull like, God bless him. Now to your letter.

Melgim is gone this day & he will cleir Dalswintons busines to you. He sayes the discoverer hath been boght off. As for Bromfeilds bastardrie, as I remember I sent a gift of it long agoe for MR, I shall looke it out. And now MR is comd in, & sayes it was past in W. Sharps name.[3]

The storie yow write concerning the Exchequers proceeding on the accounts makes me hope that matter will goe well enough. It is no matter thogh the custome of outward prize goods goe against yow, provided yow clear the Collection counts upon that head. And by the way, know that I did many times againe & againe advise the taking custome & excise & not fifteenths (as was done heir) for prize goods, & yow may know whose interest stopt it. Alwayes we can say nothing now till the Exchequer have finished, & then the King will doe as you advise in them & as to collection.

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[1] Rev. Simon Patrick, D.D., rector of St. Pauls, Covent Garden, London, 1662-89, thereafter Bishop of Chichester and of Ely.

[2] Henry Cavendish, 2nd son of William, Duke of Newcastle: succeeded as 2nd Duke, 1676.

[3] On 13th September 1667 the bastardy of deceased Thomas Bruntfield was gifted to Mr. William Sharp (*Treasury Sederunt Book*).

Your objection is pertinent as to the number of Peers, yct yow know we resolvd to goe by the rule of quota as to both Houscs. Alwayes we shall stire to help it, thogh I cannot thinke it matcriall, for ten will never come, especially when thcy must come on their own charges; for Peers get no allowance no where, thogh Commoners doe. But of this yow shall have ane account when we meet nixt, which I thinke shalbe to morrow. I have written to Lord Chancellor as yow advised & heir inclosed is the copie.

XLIII. SAME TO SAME.

Whitehall, 19 *December* 1668.

Nostre fils excused my not wryting on Thursday, and I hope my Twesdayes letter made amends with ane witnes. Yours of thc 10 gives me ane account of your very good observation upon the collection accounts. As to pryzes[1] I had written of it upon Tuesday by antidate, and I have since acquainted the King with it who does desire that ane account may be taken of it. Now as to yours of the 12, thogh it be long it requircs little answer.[2] Cardros busines cannot be medled with heir.[3] As to the point of mortification of that heady cholerick Lord, I have spoken to his Majestic who approvcs heartily of what is proposed[4]; so I shall prepare the new Commission & the letter once this nixt week God willing, & scnd them dounc. I shall like well of your making agreement with the toune of Mussilbrough.[5] In order to honest Kellies busines, hast

[1] Letters of marque were granted to merchants and others to take Dutch vessels as prizes of war, and the cases were dealt with by the High Court of Admiralty. On the vessel being adjudged prize, $\frac{1}{15}$ part of value of ship and cargo was reserved to the Crown.

[2] Airy quotes only a small part of this letter.

[3] Act in favour of David Erskine, Lord Cardross, anent blench duty of lordship of Cardross, 5th September 1668 (*Treasury Sederunt Book*).

[4] Lord Bellenden: cf. Letter 44, and also Letters 36, 37.

[5] Lauderdale granted a charter in favour of the town of Musselburgh in 1670, in terms of previous arrangement.

up your advice what the summe shalbe & it shalbe indeavored.[1] Yow promised to write of a round summe upon compositions. Receave the Earl of Wintons pass & make it serv for ane answer to his letter.[2]

Heir is also a remission to the Quechmaker; all the fee I expect is that he may make a dozen handsome quechs, that W. Sharp pay for them & send them to me.[3] Heir is a letter I had from Sir Wm. Davidson[4]; send me word what I shall say to him. His pretensions for bygones is unreasonable, but he hath servd the King so well & suffered so much for him without recompense, that I am sure his Majestie will order it. Return my letter & tell what I shall say & doe. God be thanked your Lady is well; my humble service to her. Your freinds yong & old are I bless God very well.

Yesterday the fellow who attempted long agoe to have killed the Duke of Albemarle, & said he intended the same to the King, was hanged drawen and quartered at Tyburne.[5] I have no other news.

I need not repeat what is in the two inclosed letters to Argyll & Wynkiepitcher.[6]

XLIV. SAME TO SAME.

Charing Crosse, 26 *December* 1668.

Twesday my late sitting at the Councell of trade did interrupt my writing, but alas a sadder occasion hath done it since. My wife hath been ill of a cold & much troubled with rheums above these 3 weeks, but on Thursday early she was seazed with a sudden swelling & great paine first under her eare then along her throate & now most

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[1] See Letter 24. A precept was presented in February 1669 for payment to him of £600 sterling (*Treasury Sederunt Book*).

[2] See Letter 34. [3] Not traced. [4] See Letter 31.

[5] In December 1660 Major-General Overton, Parliamentary general during the Commonwealth, was imprisoned on a charge of plotting against the King and General Monck (*Pepys' Diary*).

[6] Unidentified.

over her face. Thursday night at midnight she was let blood, & againe yesterday morning. She hath slept none these two last nights, & had a feaver with great paine & apprehensions of her throate. Still the physitians were confident, but this day she sleeps & is in much better temper, which gives me leave to send this dispatch. I have inclosed a letter to the Councell from his Majestie in my Lord Chancellars letter, which does onely concern the Militia, approving the Councells opinion as to Dumbarton shire, making Earl of Wigton Captaine of that troupe, and the Laird of Luss[1] Lieut.-Colonel to Earl of Argyll, & giving Earl of Kingorne the same interest others had in nomination of his officers. The matter of the cattle is not ready, as I have desired the Lord Chancellar to acquaint the Councell.[2] I have sent him also a remission to the Malcoms[3] as Earl Kincardin desired, to whom you must make my excuse.

Heir is the new Commission & the mortifying Epistle right as yow desired. I warrant it, thogh I have no time to get your copies sent, for if my wife had not been better & slept this evening I had not sent this dispatch. Yow may safely say you have no copies, to serv for ane excuse for my not sending copies to the Chancellar, but doe not sweare but you guess at the particulars. You may prophesie of it to my brother, that he may pump Bellenden, but doe as yow please.[4]

I cannot get Earl of Argylls[5] busines done because of this sad accident, but it shalbe Godwilling nixt week.

Your other freinds are very well. Our least man[6] should have been christend tomorrow, but alas this hath in-

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[1] See Letter 27.

[2] A tax was being unjustly levied on Scottish drovers taking cattle into England, and the Council wrote to Lauderdale in November asking for its removal.

[3] Remission was granted on 22nd December to Michael and Mr. Alexander Malcolm, sons of John M. of Balbedie, and others, for the rape of Nicolas Boswell, daughter of deceased David B. of Balgonie Wester.

[4] See preceding Letter.

[5] See Letter 49.

[6] John, 2nd son of Lord Yester.

terrupted it. I have this night good hopes, God be blest, but I cannot reade over nor answer your 3 last.

XLV. SAME TO SAME.

Charing Crosse, 31 *December* 1668.

I was ready to have written to yow on Twesday, when a sad accident frighted all wryting out of my head.[1] Yow know how ill my wife hath been since this day sinnet, in great paine by a great swelling under her left care, so to her throate & almost over all her face. She had a feaver the first 3 dayes, was twice let blood in one day, but God be thanked all feare of her life hath been gone since Monday; neither were the physitians at any time in the least apprehensive specially since Monday that she hath had no feaver. Yet the swelling and her paine oblige her still to keep her bed. And for a new & sharpe surcharge of affliction to me, our deare little man Charles grew sick on Twesday, but the cause [*sic*] are so apparent that neither the physitians nor I were any thing apprehensive of it, for he hath 4 great teeth broken the flesh, & his gums for his ey teeth much swelled, & his finger continually in his mouth. His frowardnes & great heat made me conclude him sick, but I apprehended nothing till Twesday about six a clock at night when I was talking with the physitians about my wife; a sudden alarum comes in that my deare babie Charles had taken a convulsion. The physitians & I runne in to his chamber & found him stiff with his armes out & his eyes staring. Never did I see a convulsion before (for never childe of mine had it) and it was a dreadfull sight. By Gods providence the physitians were present; they presently undrest him, made him be rubd & went to write their prescriptions. The women said he was out of the fitt, but the doctors said No, or if he was it was another. Alwayes before their prescription was written he was

[1] See Introduction.

cleirly out of it. So whither it was two fitts or one the convulsions lasted not half a quarter of an houre. They made all their directions, especially forbidding him his nurses breast, which was exactly obeyd. He was well watched all night; sure I slept little. When the doctors & I talked together, they said they liked it the better that it came by the paine of so many teeth, but if it had comd by the beginning of small pox or measles they wold not be so apprehensive. He slept ill all night, was most impatient for the breast, & was in a cruell heate. When the physitians came yesterday morning they found him in a great feaver, but within ane houre they did see apparent signes of the small pox. They were pleasd with it, appointed him to suck againe, which strangely recoverd the childes humor. All this while the mother and grandmother knew nothing, for the physitians positively forbad it. My first care was to remove the other childe & nurse with maids to another side of the house, where they are very well. My babie Charles grew much better, his small pox struck out handsomely, & in the afternoone & toward evening he played as merrily as ever. He slept well & suckt well all night & most part of this day, onely he is more froward then when in health, but his feaver is much abated & the small pox strike out finely & seem not to be many, I cannot see twentie or threttie in his face. We have now told my wife of the small pox, but not a word of the convulsion; my daughter knowes nothing of neither. But my wife being still kept in bed, I have chosen to shut my self up heire, so does *nostre fils* at nights, but he goes abroad in the afternoones thogh not to Court. I sent my excuse to the King, & that I wold not presume to waite on him the small pox being in my house & I compelled by my wife's sickness & my daughters lying in to stay heir. His Majestie hath been pleasd to let me know that I may come for all that to him, for he does not apprehend it, but I meane to forbeare a day or two more. Judge now if I be fitt to write to any bodie or of any busines; yow must make my excuse to all my freinds. God grant I may have good news to send yow

on Saterday. This yeer does end but unpleasantly with me.

As to that of the farmers whieh I see hath troubled yow, all I shall say is, that I like well your reporting all to the King. And I am more then confident the King will doe what ever you shall advise as to aceounts, allowances, gratuities to the farmers, turning it into a Collection or what ever yow your self shall advise. Therfor set your minde at rest. Write but cleirly to me what yow wold have done, & it shalbe Godwilling.

XLVI. SAME TO SAME.

Charing Crosse, 2 *January* 1668/9.

God send yow a merrie new yeer & much merrier then the end of the old one hath been to me. But blest be the name of God all our matters looke hopefully now. My wife is much eased of her paine; the impostume is broke & runnes out of her eare, whieh makes the hard swelling mueh less, so that the physitians are past all manner of feare. Yet she kept her bed, onely she rises two or 3 houres in the evening. Our little deare man Charles lookes hopefully for his condition. He hath little or no feaver, his pox come on finely & are of a good colour, his ey is very sharpe & well thogh his paine is great whieh makes him froward often. Yet he is at fitts & often as merrie as ever. Last night I was playing with him, & I ealled him pockic rogue; presently he pointed to his pox with his little finger distinetly one by one. This he did repeat againe before the doetors this day, and I wondered to see him understand that word. The Doetors give him nothing, onely they appoint his nurse to drinke a posset constantly with hartshorne & marigold floores & other things of that nature in it. In a word by Gods great mercie he is yet in a hopefull condition. *Nostre fille* mends well & knowes nothing of all this. The littlc one is very well. Never was I so free of busines & yet never so unwilling to write. Heir I am in a troublesome government, going to & againe from one sick one to another & attending

doctors, surgeon apothecaries & nurses ; a government I was never shapt for & of which I am most heartilie wearie. Yet this day I ventured out to see the King in the parke. He made me very welcome, & made me goe in to the Laboratorie of Le Fevre,[1] which I wold have shund. I talked with him about the Fermers, & I assure yow he will doe what ever can be reasonably expected or desired. I talked with him about assigning John Campbell of Fordie to be payed by what my Lord Argyll owes, which his Majestie readily agrees to. Speake to Earl Argyll if he be in toune, or to Fordie himself. Let such a warrant be sent me speedily as wilbe for that end, & I answer for it. I have a draught of a warrant which Earl of Argyll sent me, but it hath too many things in it relating to a former. If my Lord Argylls debt will doe the worke, send one with it onely. The King will stop Lord Coupars signature because it disposes a title of honor without his Majesties consent.[2] Beg of M'Callen [3] to excuse my delay of his busines. I am not often guiltie of it to him. It shall Godwilling goe this week ; I have had too just excuse. I hope MR will answer yours ; I spoke my minde of all to him. Excuse me to Earl of Kincardin & all freinds ; indeed I can write no more.

XLVII. SAME TO SAME.

Charing Cross, 5 *January* 1668/9.

Yesterday I was glade to heare yow was well returnd by your short epistle of 28 December. This shalbe as short, for to turne my hand with I have got the sciatick thogh not violent I bless God, so that I have not stird

[1] Nicasius (or Nicolas) Le Fevre, professor of chemistry to Charles II. and apothecary in ordinary to the royal household : died, 1669.

[2] James, Lord Coupar, dying 1669 without issue, his estates devolved upon his nephew, John, Lord Balmerino ; but Lady Coupar had prevailed on her husband to make a disposition of his title and estates in her favour, to the exclusion of Balmerino. This conveyance was reduced by the Court of Session in 1671.

[3] See Letter 54.

since my last. My wife is almost well and the physitians are very well pleasd with the condition of our little man Charles. Sir Alexr. Fraser sayes he never knew a more hopefull like small pox. They have now white heads and the poore babie is so sore that it would pittie one; his eyes are almost shut up. The rest of your freinds are very well. Againe you must make my excuse to all my freinds.

XLVIII. SAME TO SAME.

Charing Cross, 7 *January* 1668/9.

I still put my best foote foremost. Now blessed be the name of God our little man hath his small pox all dryed & hath been these 24 houres free of sicknes & almost of paine, hath slept well & is merrie againe singing & laughing. So that I trust in the mercie of God he is past danger for this bout. My wife hath also sitten up all this day & is much better; so that I meane to quite this government of which truely I am heartily wearie. In order to your proposition concerning the forfaulted rebells, I waited on his Majestie this day in the parke & talked of it with him, who is fully of your minde to turne them into fines for reserving the estates to their relations & letting the sentence stand against the men themselves; & I am commanded by his Majesty to bid yow digest into forme & make the motion to the King & he will authorize it. But I must also tell yow my privat opinion. I wold make a difference, I wold extend this favor onely to the Lairds who did onely randevous in order to the rebellion, as Kersland, etc., but not to Mr Gabriel Maxwel who broght them thither, nor to Lermonth & those who actually foght against the Kings troupes.[1] This is my opinion positive. Yow may speake with freinds, digest the motion fully, prepare Dalzell & Drummond, and then send it for

[1] See Letter 13. Major Joseph Learmonth was sentenced to death in August 1667 for taking part in the Pentland Rising. He was afterwards imprisoned in the Bass, but obtained release and died just after the Revolution, at the age of 88.

the Kings sight. Heir is the warrand for Earl of Argylls signature which is to pass gratis according to the Kings letter a yeer agoe to which this relates. Heir is a copie of my letter to my Lord Advocat, & in the warrant yow may observ the King approves his cariage, as also in the warrant for stopping Lord Coupars signature. If Earl of Argyll be in toune, give his owne letter to him, as also the Kings letter; but if he be gone open my letter to him & tell him I bid yow, and be pleasd to deliver the Kings letter & get the signature past. I am wearie.

XLIX. [*Copy*] LAUDERDALE TO LORD ADVOCATE (*enclosed with preceding*).

7 *January* 1668/9.

My Lord,—I have long desired [*sic*][1] the answering yours of the 13th of August 1668 because it was not necessary untill his Majestie was ready to declare his pleasure concerning the Signature in question.[2] But now the King having after serious consideration thought fitt to order the passing it, it is my part first to tell your Lordship that upon recept of your letter and your reasons which Earl of Tweddale sent to me, I did acquaint his Majestie with the same, as also with what the Earle of Argile did say for himselfe; upon which his Majestie thought fit to delay the declaring his pleasure, so the matter rested. As to your question in generall concerning Signatures syned by the King and dockquetted by me, it is farre from my opinion that either the Exchequer should think themselves obleidged to pass, or your Lordship should be silent implicitlie as to such Signatures. My

[1] ? *lege* deferred.

[2] Archibald, Earl of Argyll, had his father's estates restored to him in 1663, and signatures were made in his favour in 1667 and 1668, which were not passed till now because of the Lord Advocate's opposition, especially regarding some heritable offices (*Exchequer Royal Letters*, 7th January 1669).

dockquet signifies no more then if any other who have power to dockquet should doe it. It is true I will not present or docquet quhat I think unjust & illegall; but both the King and I may be easily mistaken. It is the Exchequers part to suspend what they are not satisfied in, and to represent it to the King, whose justice will never insist in what he finds unjust. And it is your office to represent it to your [*sic*] Majestie, and to advert to his interest, and the King you see does approve what you doe in this. But when his Majestie hath considered what is represented, & thinks fitt to dispence with his owne interest (as now he hath done), then I think it ought to pass. This is all I can say as to your question in generall, or as to this Signature of the Earle of Argile. Your advice was followed as to the Signature of Incachaffary [*sic*][1] & the concern of Mr Gray the prisoner.[2] I have no more to add, but that I am very faithfully, My Lord, Your Lordships affectionat Servant, LAUDERDAILL.

L. LAUDERDALE TO TWEEDDALE.

CHARING CROSSE, 9 *January* 1668/9.

Blessed be God my wife continues in a mending condition, and our little man is as well as can be expected in his condition, his small pox all dryed & coming off a pace. He does suck & sleep well and is very merrie. The other little one well, & so is *nostre fille*. Now as to your letter of the 2nd, assoone as I see my Lord Arlington[3] or

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[1] The escheat of deceased Magdalen Cowell, widow of Patrick Murray, lord of Inchaffray, was granted to John Murray of Philiphaugh on 22nd January 1669. Lieut.-General Drummond had a gift of the priory on 9th October 1668, and an infeftment of the lands and abbacy was passed in his favour, 26th February 1669.

[2] Robert Gray, who confessed to harbouring Major Learmonth and others, obtained a measure of liberty on account of his health, September 1668 (*Privy Council Register*).

[3] Henry Bennet, born 1618, Secretary of State, 1662-74, created Baron Arlington of Arlington, 14th March 1665.

Lord Ashley[1] I shall acquaint them with what yow say concerning the Prize officers at Leith. I need not repeat oftner what I have said twentie times, that what shalbe desired concerning the fermars or the customes will certainly be done heir.

Heir I send yow a copie of the letter concerning the Earl of Argyll which yow may give him. I send yow also Sir W. Davidsons letter concerning the stealing custome and sending staple goods to Rotterdam (which showes the need of the late proclamation). I am from good hands informed that much trade is caried on by Duch men & Scots rogues in Rotterdam with Borrowstonness, & in Dutch ships colored by being sailed with Scots men, & all this custome free, being stowed under coales. This wold be looked to; I have sent to Sir W. Davidson to send yow all possible information.[2]

This day I am told by Secretarie Trevor[3] that that clamorous fellow Pet[4] hath written a heavie complaint that double custome is exacted for the Kings timber in Scotland. The letter is written to Duke of Albemarle,[5] who shews it. My answer was, that I am confident it is false that double custome is exacted, but seing he makes a clamorous complaint, if I have any interest in Scotland there shall be exacted every farthing which is legally due & no more. I beseech yow make my words good. Such rogues thinke they may use us as they please & then complaine.

Upon your & Earl Kincardins telling me that yow have great reason to beleev there was vile imbezellments made in the West India prize taken at Zetland (which I beleev to be true), I have sent to Kincardin all the papers which

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[1] Anthony Ashley-Cooper, created Baron Ashley of Wimborne St. Giles in 1661, and Earl of Shaftesbury, 1672. Arlington and he were members of the Cabal.

[2] See Letter 31.

[3] Sir John Trevor, appointed Secretary of State, 1668.

[4] Phineas Pett, of Chatham, a kinsman of Peter Pett, Commissioner of the Navy, was employed by the Admiralty as a shipbuilder (*Pepys' Diary*).

[5] George Monck, Cromwell's commander-in-chief: created Duke of Albemarle, 7th July 1660, and died 3rd January 1670.

I have yet found relating to that. I send yow heir two letters which are not to be made use of, and a pass for men going to Hamburgh, that yow may aske at Coronell Sinclar what that was for. I hope he did restore all he tooke, yet yow may speake with him & I hope he will deale honestly & help to cleir matters.

Me thinkes Earl Kincardin may get information from Holland what was really in that ship. This was the first day of my going abroad (except to the King in the parke) these 17 dayes past. Nixt weck Godwilling about the end of it I meane to goe to Court.

LI. SAME TO SAME.

Charing Crosse, 12 *January* 1668/9.

I have receavd yours of the 5 and this morning in the parke I acquainted his Majestie with all in it. He laught at the modest receaving the Humiliation,[1] & was very well pleased with what you say upon that subject. He hath commanded me to prepare the Letter for the addition of the persons named in my Lord St Andrews letter to the Commission of Surrenders,[2] which I shall send by the nixt. I acquainted him with the storie of Duke of Lennox money, of which (thogh nothing can follow upon it) I doe expect the report. As to what concerns the forfaulted Estates[3] I said nothing, but I am pleasd with either of the two motions either this or the other. I wish yow may agree the shire & the good tounc. This is all requiring answer in your letter to me. What yow wrote concerning Phi. Pet[4] came seasonably, as yow will see by the inclosed copied

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[1] Not traced.

[2] The Commissioners for plantation of kirks and valuation of teinds were ordered on 3rd December 1668 to meet weekly during the spring session.

[3] James Dunlop of Househill administered the estates of those denounced for rebellion, and provision was made for dependants. Commissioners (including the Chancellor and Lauderdale) were appointed in 1669 to manage the sale of the forfeited estates.

[4] See preceding Letter.

out of his letter. I acquainted both the King & Duke with it. They thoght him a knave & that it is reasonable he pay the custome in Scotland. The Duke tooke the paper of the entrie & will command the Commissioners of the Navie to make the right use of it. I am necessarily calld away, so yow must make my excuse for this time againe to all my freinds, especially my Lord Chancellar. My wife mends but slowly, but the little man is very very well, & so are all frcinds.

LII. SAME TO SAME.

16 *January* 1669.

Thogh my wife be rid both of feaver & paine, yet she recovers but slowly. But blessed be God our little man is very well; he uses his feet & gave his grandmother 2 visites to day & dined with her. On Wedensday I went to Ham to see my freind my Lady Dysert, upon the occasion of the death of her husband Sir Lyonell Tollemache, of which she had notice on Twesday morning.[1] I found her great passion had made her very sick. I stayed that night there, & came home so late on Thursday that I could not write, which *nostre fils* supplyed. That night I went to Court, having been aired 2 dayes in the countrey. Yesterday I went to Councell, where I moved for the report concerning our cattle, which I hope shalbe ready nixt week.

By this I have sent the Kings letter for adding Earl Kincardin, Lord Cochran, Newbyth, W. Sharp & Robert Baird to the Commission for valuations[2]; also a letter in the Kings name wherof heir is a copie. Both are inclosed to my Lord Chancellar. This last was a surprize on the King, but I hope it shall doe no great hurt, alwayes his Majestie allowes me to tell yow that either yow or the

[1] Elizabeth Murray, daughter of William, 1st Earl of Dysart, married (1) about 1647, Sir Lionel Tollemache of Helmingham, Suffolk, baronet; and (2) on 17th February 1672, John, Earl of Lauderdale. She died 4th June 1698. By her first husband she had 11 children.

[2] See preceding Letter.

Commissioners may write freely if there be any great prejudice in it. I wold not trouble the King with the account of the ferm, for I will make one worke of all when the whole papers come. Your 2 letters thogh long yet require no answer. All your freinds are very well. Heer is no news, so with my humble service to my Lady.

LIII. SAME TO SAME.

WHITEHALL, 19 *January* 1669.

Yours of the 12 thogh long requires no answer, for most of what yow hint is not yet so disgested by yow as to be acted, except Earl Atholes[1] warrand which I shall looke out & send yow by nixt.

Heir is no manner of news. MR hath been with W. Areskine these 2 dayes, with Countes of Dysert, who hath another sad affliction, the death of her sister Lady Katherine.[2] Yet MR sayes he writes this night. Your freinds are all very well, exeept my wife who mends but slowly. We intend to christen our other grandchild on Thursday, Godwilling.

LIIIA. SAME TO SAME.

21 *January* 1669.

This day I bless God our 2nd little man hath been christned. It is no news that his name is John. His godfathers were Earl Dunfermline & Lord Drummond, his godmother Lady Isabelle Turner.[3] All the company

[1] John, Earl of Atholl, on account of having preserved the country from depredations, was authorised to receive back a bond given by him to the Treasurer in October 1663 (*Exchequer Royal Letters*, 23rd January 1669).

[2] *The Scots Peerage* gives the date of her death as 10th February 1670!

[3] There were six Englishmen of the name Turner knighted between 1660 and 1664, including the Speaker of the House of Commons and his son.

was Scots, not one English man but Lady Isabells husband & Doctor Harding, the person of this parish who christend him.

And it hath been no ill day, for I reported this evening to his Majestie in presence of MR the Exchequers letter to me, the account & the petition. The King approved very well of the 3 Articles referrd to him, & of all the accompt, and was very cleir & positive for putting it into collection.[1] The Collectors are to be Sir Ja. Hay, Blackbarronie & Mr Moray.[2] I shall indeavor to get all ready against Saterday, but yow may be sure of it on Twesdayes post.

His Majestie hath as a small testimonie of his favor to yow commanded me to draw a precept for one thousand pounds to be payed to yow presently.[3] Had you seen how frankly & obligingly he ordered it it would have pleasd your turne as well as thrice the summe. Yow may guesse I have not much time. I went not to my audience with the King till half ane houre after 7 at night for his Majestie was at a play. All this family is now very well, blessed be our Lord God.

LIV. SAME TO SAME.

Whitehall, 23 *January* 1669.

I am as good as my word by Thursdayes post, for heir is the copie of the Kings letter concerning the Farmers, & within it your draught from which you will see I did not much varie, onely I inserted the words of the Exchequers letter to me, which evinces the justice of granting the petition thogh they will not say so plainly. I have

[1] The farmers of the revenue obtained rebates on account of losses, and it was agreed to appoint collectors of customs and foreign excise for this year at a salary of £1000 sterling among them (*Exchequer Royal Letters*, 23rd January 1669).

[2] Sir James Hay of Linplum; Archibald Murray of Blackbarony; Mr. Patrick Moray, bailie of Ettrick Forest.

[3] Warrant for payment of £1000 sterling to the Earl of Tweeddale, 13th February 1669 (*Treasury Sederunt Books*).

followed your advice as to the salarie, for seing they have not yet the salt I moved onely for one thousand pounds among them.[1] If the salt come into their care the King will give them a hundred pounds a peece more & that is better then 1200 lib. now. I have for reasons sent the letter to be presented by my Lord Chancellar.

Heir is your owne precept which I desire may be first passed, & then send this to Earl Kellie[2] whose precept is within it. Yow may observ the date of yours, even little Johns christning day, for I dated it the day I receaved the Kings command for it. The Earl of Atholls[3] warrant is written; if I get it signed this night it shall come, if not it shall not faile on Twesday. Arbrochil[4] sent me a new signature for Earl Kinnouls sisters[5] according as it was scored, & I have returnd it so done.

When I write to M'Callen I shall chide him for what he does to Lord Newbottle, indeed I am ill pleasd with it.

I had a mighty civill letter from Lord Bellenden, by which he does sollicite me to passe Sir W. Ker's signature.[6] I cannot answer it this night but I shall, Godwilling, by the nixt. The King undervalues the Loquaber rogues prank, yet he said Earl Clarendon wold have made a rebellion of it.[7] He is pleased with what the Councell hath done about it. Your last requires no further answer.

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[1] See preceding Letter.

[2] See Letter 43.

[3] See Letter 53.

[4] Sir Colin Campbell of Aberuchill.

[5] Gift on 22nd January to Ladies Margaret, Mary, Elizabeth, Jean and Katherine Hay, five of the sisters of William, 4th Earl of Kinnoull, of £100 sterling each of yearly pension for life (*Reg. Privy Seal*). They were five of the 13 children of George, 2nd Earl, by Ann Douglas (daughter of William, Earl of Morton), who died in December 1667.

[6] Sir William Ker of Hadden, Director of Chancery, had a signature of Haddenrig, etc., in Roxburghshire, 25th June 1669.

[7] Some of the Highland lairds were summoned before the Council to answer for their clansmen's armed resistance to soldiers sent to collect arrears of taxation (*Privy Council Reg.*, ii. 586).

LV. SAME TO SAME.

WHITEHALL, 26 *January* 1669.

I shall first answer your yesterdayes letter. I am glade that Earl Argyll & Lord Newbottle[1] are agreed; faire fall yow for it, yow have saved me the wryting a plaine letter to him, which I will doe if it breake out againe. All preparation that I can shalbe made for the reception of that kinde freind who yow say is comming up to complaine of late Argylls cautionrie.

As to the agreement yow mention betwixt the shire & good toune, I wish it may goe on.[2] It is certainly very advantageous to both & principally to the good toune. I hope the man yow mention will further it. I have advised him to it all I can, but if he know it will obstruct the passing the signature (which I thinke he should know) then I hope he will not oppose it.

I shall indeavour to doe Jo. Campbells neir the terms yow propose. The last thing you propose I doe heartily agree to, & I meane Godwilling to come home bag & bagage this nixt summer & as early as the season will allow.

Receave heir inclosed the Earl of Atholls letter for giving up his bond for the first thousand pound. Be pleasd to give it to himself with my humble service, for I thinke it fittest that he present it himself.

This day I receaved a letter from Earl Ossorie,[3] Lord Deputie of Ireland, giving notice of his taking one of the forfalted rebells, John Cuninghame of Beudland.[4] I have by the Kings command sent my letter with his examination to my Lord Chancellar, to be communicated to the Councell, to the end the Councell may write thankes to my Lord Deputy & may appoint a guard to receave him at some

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[1] Robert, Lord Ker of Newbattle, afterwards 1st Marquis of Lothian; married in 1660, Jean, second daughter of Archibald, Marquis of Argyll.

[2] See Letter 43.

[3] Thomas Butler, second son of James, Duke of Ormond: created Earl of Ossory in Ireland, 1662.

[4] See Letter 13.

placc at the shoare in Scotland and conduct him safe to Edinburgh. By his examination it seems he hath been traffiking up & doune in Ireland. I wish he be well examined, and my privat opinion shalbe that if he make any considerable discoverie that his life be spared. But it is time enough to speake of that when he comes to Edinburgh. Heir is no news.

I have written a civill answer to Lord Bellenden, & plaine Scots to my brother concerning Bellendens cariage to yow.

LVI. SAME TO SAME.

'From aboard a barge,'
30 *January* [1669].

I was all Thursday abroad & so late at the Councel of trade that I could not write that night, nor had I any thing to say. What yow there promise shalbe dispatched as soone as it comes. I shall be glad to see the letter yow speak of by yours of 23 coneerning the Earl Mortons busines, & shall make good use of it when it comes.[1] In your examinations concerning the West India prize yow will finde good use of the papers I sent to Earl Kincardin, especially great stres layd on Col. Sinclare for abstracting that pocket book of the Pilots which should have told all the loading, which it seems T. Moncrieff first conceald & now confesses. Yow will also see what Sinclare did restore upon my pressing him.[2]

Present my service to honest Winkiepitcher.[3] It is so hard to write heir for the shake of the barge that I can

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[1] William, 8th Earl of Morton, had a new grant in 1662 of the Islands of Orkney and Shetland; but as his grandfather had spent a large part of his fortune in support of the royal cause, he himself was in embarrassed circumstances, and the grant was taken in the name of his cousin, Viscount Grandison, in trust for the Morton family. In 1669 Parliament ratified the decree of the Court of Session reducing the original disposition of 1643 of these Islands, and the confirmation of 1662. This act ruined the Morton family and many creditors who had lent money on security of the estates (*Scots Peerage*, vi. 379). Cf. Airy, ii. 176, and Mackenzie's *History of Scotland*, p. 175.

[2] See Letter 50.

[3] Unidentified.

write no more. I am going in a visite of charity to my Lady Dysert who is a most melancholy woman upon her double losse.[1] I shall Godwilling returne on Monday. Sir Alex. Fraser is heir with me & presents his service to yow, to your Lady & his little patient. Your freinds are now, God be blest, all very well.

LVII. SAME TO SAME.

WHITEHALL, 2 *February* 1669.

On Saterday I gave yow notice of my receat of your Frydayes letter. I wrote it in the barge as I was going to Ham, where I was kept till this morning. Yesternight I sent for & receavd yours of the 26th January. This morning I came home & waited on his Majestie just as he rose from dinner, and becausc the letter concerning the 19,000 lib. does also conclude with a desire concerning the whole defalcations,[2] I onely told the King of it. But I gave him the letter from the Commissioners of Thesaurie concerning Earl of Mortoun, & he did reade it himself. I discourst it to him with the reasonablenes & great use of it, & how little could be said in right reason against it. He seemd very fully convinced. Yet I told him that to avoyde further trouble or applications about it, I desired that I might shew it to Earl of Middleton, & then to-morrow I might receave his Majesties order about it & dispatch it on Thursday. This I thoght better to dinge out the bottome of it, then to be subject to new assaults if it were hudled away this night. Therfor I advise yow to consult it and then no time is lost by not sending it this night, for I verily beleev it shall goe by Thursdayes post. In order to the defalcations I have soght out, found & put in order all that was written concerning Defalcations. Tomorrow or Thursday morning I shall doe my utmost to get the King to heare all yow say upon it, and I much

[1] See Introduction.

[2] Letters 57-60 relate to adjustments with Sir Walter Seton (see Letter 29) about his lease of the revenue, including duties on salt.

apprehend His Majestie wilbe of your minde, to impoure you of the Thesaurie to accept 5000 lib. with the salt tack, or if he will not give it, to try the matter at law; and will reject my proposition for the 3000 libs. Yow shall I hope know certainly on Thursday. I nothing wonder at Archbishop Glasgowes[1] complaints, but I was sorie in my Lord St Andrews last to me to finde some thing sounding like a complaint comming. For Gods sake let us have remedies proposed & then complaints shalbe most welcome. The Lord Newbottle must deale with ane Archbishop to attest a presentation to the man he desires; without ane attestation it is impossible for me. This is all that requires answer. I found this family very well, God be blest. *Nostre fils* caught cold after tennes on Saterday, yet he came to Ham yesterday & came home very well with me this morning. He findes a thicknes in his hearing which I hope shall goe away. My service to Lord St Andrews and Winkie pitcher.

LVIII. SAME TO SAME.

Whitehall, 4 *February* 1669.

This day & no sooner I had audience from his Majestie in presence of MR, where I did fully reade to him the report concerning the defalcations, & found him of the minde I guest by my last. He gave me order for 5000 lib. thogh MR much prest him for 6000. But it is impossible for me to get the dispatch made this night. All that I could doe was to prepare his pleasure for going on in the proces against Orknay,[2] which I have shewen to the King, and it goes this night. This is all I can say in answer to your yesterdayes letter.

MR presses me to say some thing as to his brother, & know not what well to say. His fault is great, but he is

[1] Alexander Burnet, resigned 24th December 1669, in opposition to Lauderdale's ecclesiastical policy: restored to the See, 29th September 1674.

[2] See Letter 56.

MRs brother. If yow turne him out I hope yow will pay him bygones & suppres the office.[1]

LIX. SAME TO SAME.

Whitehall, 6 *February* 1668/9.

To save me a labor of repeating (which indeed were too hard) I intreat yow open this inclosed which is directed first to yow, and there yow will see the Kings letter authenticall copied by me wherin yow will see his Majesties determination as to the abatements with consideration of the 19,000 lib. Scots. Yow will also see the Kings directions for the proceeding upon it, which I doubt not but yow will follow. The King I assure yow is unalterably positive, and he told us a storie how my Lord Crofts[2] sold a hors in France for 30 pistolls if the hors was taken that day & 35 if he were not taken till nixt day, which accordingly he made the gentleman pay every farthing. MR did like a Turke press for 6000 lib. I wold faine have had the old offer which was by the Kings knowledg, but his Majestie wold heare of no less then 5000 lib., so I was glad to submitt. My privat advice to yow is that yow send first for Will Sharpe & deale freely with him before you send for Sir Walter, to the end he may prepare him before yow send for him & shoot him with 5000 lib. weight. I doe not write to Will Sharpe nor will not to any bodie, but my privat opinion is that yow goe to my Lord Chancellar & franckly shew him the copie of the Kings letter & your directions. It is fairest & necessarie seing yow are sure Sir Walter will tell him. But I must not write to any bodie by this post. All this I submitt. Your freinds heir are all very well, & I very wearie.

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[1] Sir William Moray of Dreghorn, Master of H.M. Works. By a deed 15th October 1669 he resigned the office.

[2] William Crofts, created 1658 Baron Crofts of Saxham, Suffolk: died 1677.

LX. LAUDERDALE TO EARLS OF TWEEDDALE AND KINCARDINE, AND LORD COCHRANE.

WHITEHALL, 6 *February* 1668/9.

MY LORDS: Heir inclosed is the Kings answer to the last letter of the 26 January last signed by your Lordships & by 3 more of the Committee for reexamination of the abaitments granted to Sir Walter Seaton of 16,892 lib. sterlin upon his ferm for the yeers 1664 & 1665. I am by his Majestie commanded to direct it to your Lordships and to send yow this inclosed copie of his letter by which yow may see his finall declaration of his pleasure both concerning those abaitments & concerning the 1583 lib. sterlin allowed for the Duke of Lennox & Richmonds[1] money, according as was desired by that letter. His Majestie did carefully peruse the whole report dated the 10 of June last, and is very positive & peremptorie in this his determination. Yet because he is willing that the matter be transacted as smoothly & secretly as is possible, I am commanded to authorise yow or any two of yow to send for Sir Walter Seaton before yow deliver this inclosed letter to the Exchequer, and shew to him the copie of it. And if yow finde him willing to pay the 5000 lib. sterlin & to quitt his tack of the salt for the two last yeers, then in that case yow shall keep up & not deliver the Kings letter to the Exchequer, but advertise his Majestie of his complyance, who will immediatly dispatch his acceptance of that offer and his warrant to allow of the 1583 lib. as also to confirme the æques concerning the defalcation, and to grant him as ample discharges as he can desire. But if he accept not this offer, then yow are to deliver the Kings letter to the Exchequer to the end the proces may be intented & carefully pursued till it come to a legall determination. This is all I am commanded to signifie to your Lordships in his Majesties name. I am, My Lords, Your Lordships most humble Servant, LAUDERDAILL.

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[1] Charles, 6th Duke of Lennox, son of George Stewart, 9th Seigneur d'Aubigny: succeeded his cousin Esmé, 5th Duke, and died 1672.

LXI. LAUDERDALE TO TWEEDDALE.

WHITEHALL, 13 *February* 1669.

Pardon I bescech yow my not answering your three letters of this week. It hath been a strict waiting week, so that I could not, nor can I yet tell yow more but that nixt week Godwilling shall bring yow all & such freinds signatures as ly by me. I have written to the Commissioners of Thesaurie the Kings accepting the motion for sale of forfalted Estates, and his Majestie desires yow with the Commission to send your privat advice concerning the distribution of these moneyis. Excuse me for Gods sake to all freinds for not wryting. *Nostre fils* writes yow great news.

LXII. SAME TO SAME.

WHITEHALL, 16 *February* 1669.

Yesterday I receavd yours of this day sinnet; when those other papers come which yow mention they shalbe speedily dispatched. I did acquaint his Majestie with what concerns Earl Dumfreis,[1] who approved of it, so I sent it to Duke & Duches of Buccleuch who have signed it, together with another paper heirinclosed also which it seems was sent directly to them.

Heir is the signature of Lord Staires[2] with a letter for passing it; Also Lieut.-Gen. Drummonds signature with my letter to Lord Advocat concerning it.[3] Make my excuse to both for not wryting at this time, for indeed I have not time, and obeying them is better then ane empty letter. Tell Lieut. Gen. that Generall Dalzell wrongs himself & does me no right by thinking that I have any prejudice at him. Indeed he did never directly nor indirectly give me any cause of offence nor injure me in

[1] William Crichton, 2nd Earl of Dumfries: died 1691.

[2] Sir James Dalrymple of Stair, a Lord of Session (Lord President 1671): created Viscount Stair in 1690.

[3] See Letter 49.

the least, nor have I failed in any respect to him except answering letters when I cannot serv (wherin I faile to my best freinds); so that if he come hither for this he makes ane ill journey. What concerns the forfatures yow can tell better nor I, and I shall shortly write to him. Now for news I referr them to MR who will tell yow how the King on Sunday declared (with greatest kindenes to Duke of Ormond) his resolution to make Lord Roberts Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; how franckly Duke Ormond resigned it, & how civilly Lord Roberts receavd it.[1] He will also perhaps tell yow of a foolish storie concerning wise Sir W. Bellenden on which I lay no weight.

Long before I heard of this, I was ingaged to goe this day to Hamton Court with a knot of good fellows to take good aire & be merrie, which indeed I need, having been toyld by last weeks waiting. Yow shall heare every post Godwilling from me.

LXIII. SAME TO SAME.

Charing Crosse, 23 *February* 1669.

At Hamton Court I receavd yours of the 13 with the inclosed commission & instructions, but I can doe nothing with it till you send me the names of those who are to be inserted in it, which I pray you send that I may offer all together to the King. That playing journey did cast me farre behind in wryting, thogh not in business. *Nostre fils* & I dined at Ham & came home so late, that having the King to see & then my freinds heir, it was not possible for me to write. I have yesterday receavd yours of 16 and made a note of all which I have not answerd, of which now receave a breif account. Sir Ja. Keiths news to Melgime were no truer then his owne confidence of gaining Caroone hous,[2] & I am very confident neither Duke Buckingham nor C[ountess] Castlemain[3] did meddle in

[1] See Letter 31. [2] Unidentified.

[3] Barbara Villiers, wife of Roger Palmer: mistress of Charles II. Created Duchess of Cleveland, 1670.

Earl of Mortons busines, and I as little apprehend the threats of the new gift of those Iles.[1] As for the Kings order under his owne hand for Earl Atholls 1000 lib., I well know there came ane order for it when I was in Scotland, but it was not obeyd till he gave bond, and I am most confident there never came another. Yesterday I had a letter from Earl Athole concerning his 600 lib. for which he sayes the Commissioners of Thesaurie have written to me, but I remember no such letter. Till it come I can doe nothing; when it comes I shall indeavor to serv him & so you may tell him. You tell me of a 2d. paper from Lady M. Kennedy, which I have not seen[2]; you mentiond also the first which I saw and liked very ill, for it states all outed ministers as one partie & pleads for all, bragging of their bypast loyaltie, which as to the Remonstrators is most fals, nor can the others brag much. They left praying for the King, they countenanced not those who did rise for the King, & treated enough with Cromwell. I could say more against the paper but I have not time. In a word if favor be to be given it should be to publick resolution men, I shall not trust Remonstrators, & I hate stating the whole outed ministers as one partie. When you send me your opinion particularly concerning the taxation accompts & concerning Mr Jo. Cuninghame,[3] I shall doe my best. You must also send me a new List for the Northern Militia, if you wold have any thing done in it speedily. I like well your incouraging the making muskets in Scotland, but take heed they sell them not to wrong hands. MR I thinke sent you the Kings pleasure concerning the Receavers being strictly backspeird in their fals payment. He made me aske the question, but I wold have it tenderly handled least we ingage some who are not to be destroyd, & I am against starting too many hares at once. As to Tom Moncreif[4] his vile miscariage I know not what to say; you are the best judge,

[1] See Letter 56.

[2] See page 142 *n.* Her sympathies, like her father's, were with the persecuted party.

[3] See Letter 66.

[4] See Letter 50.

being there. I shall respite saying any thing as to Sir W. Seaton till nixt post; none of his freinds have wrote word to me. I have much to say as to Dalswinton & Melgims designes, which you shall Godwilling have by the nixt.

LXIV. SAME TO SAME.

Whitehall, 27 *February* 1669.

I could not get written by Thursdayes post, & before I answer yours of 18 & 20 I must speake to two things which I omitted in my former. The first is Sir Walter Setouns busines wherin I hoped he wold have dealt more cleirly, but upon all that yow write I am of opinion he will accept the offer, onely I thinke he will press much for dayes of payment. This is onely my conjecture for there is not a word written to me about it by any. But if he should stand out, yow have all the reason in the world to follow it vigorously, for the reputation of the Commissioners of Thesaurarie wold be highly ingaged if after all the noyse nothing should come of it. The other busines is that of Dalswintons recognition; I am amazed at the vast difference betwixt what the informer sayes it is worth, and the foure thousand merks which yow say is offered. Aske Melgim & he will tell yow he was offered above twice so much to hold his peace. Informe your self how the land was conquest, how they dissemble the value, and how they wold have imposed fained debts, and yow will then thinke the offer is but a mockerie. If any thing considerable had been to have comd of it, I wold have accepted it of the Kings bountie, but I will never consent to compound such a thing so; therfor I will meddle no more with it nor thinke no more of it. It is a casuality of the Kings; if the Commissioners of Thesaurarie thinke fitt to compound it for that summe, or for nothing if they please, let the blame lye at their doore, sure I shalbe frec of blame. The gift is in W. Sharps name, God be thanked; there let it lye, and heir I wash my hands of it.

Heir are the discharges returnd signed, & I write to my Lord Chancellar who wrote to me about them, but said not a word concerning Sir Walter nor any thing like it, nor I to him. As to the establishment for the Militia officers I can doc nothing till there be a fond on which to lay it, and that yow know cannot be till yow come to a close in your designe of trying if My Lord Chancellar will admitt of a pension & pass from his troup. That wold be the best way of ending that busines. When Eglinton dyes it wilbe time to thinke of a Lieutenant, but it will be hard to impose one, yet I shall doe my part.[1] If yow cannot perswade him to part with his troup, yow must resolve whither yow will propose to the King the alternative, either to disband that troupe or to lessen all the companies hors & foote. Doe but resolve & write so as I may shew it to the King, and I shall doe my part. I like well what yow doe for the Highlands & for the West. Proceed.

I still leave to MR to tell yow what relates to worshipfull Sir W. Ballantine, who now hath fled & taken the crime upon him.[2] I shall looke to my self as well as I can by Gods grace, & truely I apprehend him not. But this I must say, it hath been coldly & carelesly handled, thogh the King exprest all the warmth in the business that was possible. Yet if it had been any bodies concern but my owne I should have handled it more mellowly (?).

LXV. SAME TO SAME.

Whitehall, 6 *March* 1669.

The beginning of yesterdayes letter requires no answer, for your playes concern me little & those heir not much more. Your nixt is earnest concerning Orknay, & what

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[1] Rothes retained command of his troop of life-guards till February 1676, when it was disbanded by the King's order (Dalton's *Scots Army*, p. 15). Alexander, Lord Montgomery (now Earl of Eglinton), was his lieutenant.

[2] See Letter 13, also Letter 68.

yow said pleasd me so well that I did reade it to the King every word & eommented on it all I could ; but all he said was, We shall see what they will say. This should not have startled me, if Earl Middleton & that partie did not brag very much. Alwayes they are ehapterly to be with the King to morrow morning (the better day the better deed). I shall doe my part honestly & [*sic* ? at] home & if the worst eome to the worst I am eonfident to gett the matter transmitted to the Tresurary before determination. Then doe your parts & leave the sueees to God & the King. I did also read what yow said of imploying preaehers to the West, & the King liked it well. I wish it doe good, but still I am wherc I was, 'tis forec & awe must make the pleugh draw. Yow answerd very well your self as to their brags of gentlenes heir. Alas if ours wer as peaee-able, & then I should be for it to them ; but the beasts we have to deale with are furious unnatural irrationall brutes, & so the King understands them right. And sure they will not brag of his Majesties gentlenes to M. Bruee.[1] Yesterday his petition was broght in, but the King wold not heare it but will send him to the Indies ; thogh I was willing any favour might be shewed him exeept a possi-bility of going to Scotland. I am glade yow have ended with Sir Walter, & that yow did not allow his petitioning, for truely it wold doe him noe good. The King & I laught heartily at the pretending to know Lord Roberts [2] rcligion, truely it is hard to know either that or his politicks ; & that other Lord yow mention is mueh unsatisfyed with this new imployment of Roberts. If I be not mistaken, as I thinke I am not, he does still keep his place of Lord Privie Seale. Now for news. The King yesterday turnd

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[1] Mr. Michael Bruce, a minister from Ireland, was imprisoned at Stirling in June 1668 for conventicling, and sentenced to banishment. Thereafter the King ordered him to be sent to London, where he was imprisoned in the gate-house and anew sentenced to go to Tangier. Eventually he managed to retire to Ireland (*Wodrow*).

[2] John, 2nd Baron Robartes of Truro, the new Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, held office as Keeper of the Privy Seal, 1661-73. Cf. Letter 31. Lord Arlington (see Letter 50) wanted the office.

out Sir W. Coventry [1] out of the Councell, and I assure out of the Thesauraric (thogh it be not declared). Who will succeed him I know not, but I am sure we shall have no High Thesaurer heir thogh many talke of it. By discourse with Duke Monmouth I found him desirous Lord Cochrane should be Earle, so I moved first. I found some difficultie, but removed it, and sent Duke Monmouth to get the thankes which I was willing he should have. Advise Cochran in his title.[2] Your freinds are exceeding well.

LXVI. SAME TO SAME.

Hamton Court, 11 *March* 1669.

That I may correspond in volume at least I use this paper, but you cannot from this place expect equality of lenth, or any dispatches, the King being at Newmarket & heir Duke Ormond, Lord Ashley, Dunfermline, *Nostre fils*, Mr Thesaurer, Mr Vice-Chamberlan, *cum multis aliis*, & every day new guests. Yet yow shall have something to your 2 last of 3rd & 5th.

I am glade the accompts please yow. With the Commission send names & it shalbe dispatched with Marquis Montrose gift & Fordie & Mr Jo: Cuninghames precepts [3] when the King returnes, as also his Majesties cleir opinion for the ordering the West & what is intended heir and in Ireland. But alas what will satisfie heir will doe our mad people no good. Heir is onely intended widening the doore & no tolleration; our fanaticks fly higher & yet

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[1] Sir William Coventry, one of the Commissioners of Treasury. See *Pepys' Diary* (March 1669) for details about him at this time.

[2] William Cochrane, created Lord Cochrane of Dundonald in 1647; created 12th May 1669 Earl of Dundonald, Lord Cochrane of Paisley and Ochiltree. He had desired the title of Glasgow (Letter 69).

[3] References are vague. James, Marquis of Montrose, obtained a charter of the marquisate, 14th December 1669, but there were other charters in his favour earlier in the year. John Campbell of Fordie got gift of escheat of John Macleod of Dunvegan, 7th April 1669. John Cunningham, younger of Caldwell, got charter of the lands of Ardmanuel in Stirlingshire, which had recently been acquired from Sir William Mure of Rowallan.

will never be quiet. I shall not easily, nay I thinke never, consent to generall admission of all outed, and by their paper no less will serv; but if putting in the gravest, soberest, wold doe good, much might be said, but that wold not quiet but render them more insolent.

I shall doe my best to remove Cheislie & ministers & Sir J. Steuart & advertise yow.[1] I am to be for your sake at the charge of this weekly paper. I can adde no more but that another duelling suspition lyes on Duke Richmond & Ja. Hamilton, who were yesterday secured at London & set free againe.

Receave back your coyne, I have of them. They were made at this Kings birth, & the motto Sir Ro. Aytons. MR hath not shewen me your old coynes.

LXVII. SAME TO SAME.

Whitehall, 20 *March* 1669.

I am deceavd if ever yow gott a more insignificant paper of news then the inclosed, and this shalbe not much better, for I can onely tell yow I am well comd back from a very merry diverting journey where our unkle, *nostre fils* & I never parted one houre. We dined this day at Lambeth & found the King just dressing him, being God be blest safe returnd from Newmarket. I have given him a short account of your Compts, with which he is most extraordinarious well satisfyed. I gave him a short account of Orknay & he promises to hold his hand till I talke to him at lenth which he promises on Monday. What you may heare of changes heir is but coffee news. Great alarums & prudentiall discourses have been upon the breaking open his Royal Highnes closet & cabinets heir on Thursday night, as if it had been a designe on his papers, but it appears to have been a designe of robbery,

[1] Sir James Stewart, late provost of Edinburgh, and Sir John Chiesly of Carsewell, Lanarkshire, both active members of the Cromwellian government, were imprisoned at the Restoration, but seem to have been liberated about this time (*Wodrow*, i. 280, 316).

for he hath lost seven hundred guinees.[1] On Twesday yow are like to have a considerable dispatch.

LXVIII. SAME TO SAME.

WHITEHALL, 23 *of March* 1669.

On Saterday I gave yow notice of the Kings safe arrivall & of my returne from my Hamton Court merrie journey. I promised yow materiall dispatches this week & yow shall have them as fast as I can make them in this which is my waiting week. I had yesterday morning a large[2] audience, where first I did reade the long letter from the Commissioners of Thesaurarie. His Majestie was at the paines to reade the abstract of your account every word himself & was extraordinarious well pleasd. He signed the Commission for auditing your accounts, & added to the List yow sent the Earl Marishall, Earl Atholl & Dunfermeline, for I was unwilling to leave out any man of qualitie whose place obliges him to be at Edinburgh. Yow shall have it by the nixt, as also the Commission & instructions for forfalted Estates.[3] I prepared 3 copies of Sir W. Seton's discharge; he signed them all & laughed at my diligence. I told him I wold take triple paines rather then he should forfault 5000 lib.[4] He signed also the recognition heir inclosed. The rest shall come as I can overtake them, & every post this week yow shall have a signed discharge. I satisfyed his reason fully as to the point of Orknaye. His Majestie will heare Earl Middleton & me both, so the envy shall still lye on me,

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[1] On 18th March, during his absence, the Duke of York's cabinets, etc., were broken open in search of papers.

[2] i.e. lengthy.

[3] Royal letter approving sale of the forfeited estates, 13th February 1669; instructions to the commissioners, 22nd March (*Royal Letters to Exchequer*, in Register House).

[4] The barons of Exchequer were on 6th February 1669 ordered to accept £5000 sterling from Sir Walter Seaton with a release of the salt tack for the two last years of the same, otherwise Seaton to account before the judge ordinary (*Ibid.*).

but I value it not, I will doe my duety & I feare not the success of this so much as beforc. These inclosed news with what *nostre fils* writes need no addition. I heare nothing from Lord Cochran. I have acquainted both the King & Duke Monmouth with your proposition of Hawick; when yow have the rentall & the pricc it will be fitt yow write to the Duke. This shews I had your yesterdayes[1] letter from Ycster. All I can adde is, by letters from Paris I finde worshipfull Sir William Ballantine[2] came to Paris this day sinnet. The King when I told him said, Let him murder Frenchmen there. If Lord George Douglas or his regiment[3] countenance him, they are not kinde to their agent, but I will not meddle, onely I will looke to my self for I expect him againe. Your freinds are very well; make excuse for me.

LXIX. SAME TO SAME.

WHITEHALL, 25 *March* 1669.

I have receavd yours by yesterdayes post, & thankes yow for your gentle admonition not to forget Sir Walters discharge. Did yow thinke thogh Sir Walter be a Seaton that I will present him with 5000 lib. of the Kings money by my neglect. No, yow got one by Twesdayes post, heir is a second, & on Saterday yow shall have the third, & if they should all thrcc miscary yow shall have 3 more before the 1 of May. Within your letter was your paper concerning the Church. I have rcad it twice, & now MR hath it, but I am not so quick as to give yow on the suddaine my sense of it; but yow shall have it very speedily. Alwayes[4] I have talkcd of it with the King, & he commands me to tell yow that if his affaires can allow your absence from Scotland for some weeks he desires yow may come hither as soone as yow can conveniently, that yow may receave his commands in that & other

[1] This must mean that the letter was *received* yesterday.
[2] See Letter 13. [3] See Letter 28. [4] = however.

matters relating to his service. In the meane time he wold have yow talke with my Lord St Andrews, that if it be possible resolutions may be taken with consent, & yow are also to communicat your thoghts with other confident freinds. This command from the King was welcome to me, for besides my longing to see yow it may be of great use many wayes; and if the King allow me (as I hope he will, for sure I doe signifie little heir) then we shall goe home together. And if he command my stay, yow shall cary home *nostre fils et fille*. Yow love posting, heir is a faire occasion. Hasten me ane answer to this. Yow askt often what was done as to nonconformists heir. The King told me to day all the Judges have orders to seaze all unlicensed preachers, that is to say all Nonconformists who preach. Thus their insolence obstructs the favor intended. Oh the madnes of that generation who will neither doe nor let doe.

Receave your Commission for accounts, Commission with instructions for forfaulted Estates, Marquis Montrose ward, & Earl Atholls precept.[1] Take yow the thanks of them.

Cochran desires to be Earl Glasgow, which is unreasonable.[2] The Duke Richmond advises him by this post to take another title, I pray yow doe the same. Your freinds heir are very well.

LXX. SAME TO [SAME].

Whitehall, 1 *Aprile* 1669.

I am glade I can now write when I had none from yow. My Lord Chancellar desired to know if I was to come home; otherwayes he hath much to write. This night I have told him my journey will not be determined till yow come, & that the king hath sent for you, so I have invited him to write freely to me. I long to heare yow

[1] See Letter 53. This seems to be a different matter (see, however, Airy, ii. 131-32). Atholl was on 2nd December 1669 appointed colonel of the Perthshire militia. See also Letter 77.

[2] See Letter 65.

gott my Twesdayes letter. This shall say no more, but that your freinds are well. *Nil mihi rescribas attamen ipse veni.* Adieu.

LXXI. SAME TO SAME.

Ham, 13 *July* 1669.

The waters have occasioned my silence all last week. I went to Epsam on Monday was sinnet; I stayed & drunke there till Saterday in the evening. I came hither intending for London yesterday, but Sir Al. Fraser finding the extraordinary benefite I receave by the waters hath injoynd me to take them 4 or 5 dayes heir, so I am heir upon that account, all my company having left Epsam on Saterday.

I was very glade to receave yesterday heir the good news under your owne hand of your safe arrivall at Yester. On Wednesday I hope to heare something of busines; in the meane time I approve well of your methode in delivering the Kings letters. It is unluckie that the paper [which] was sent to yow is divulged, not that I value what hurt it can doe in Scotland, but it will doe hurt if it be sent hither. Yow may safely say it is no paper agreed on, for yow know the great alterations. What yow say of the caball which is forming against the Union troubles me little; I heard of it last week from Earl Kincardin & who makes himself head of it. I pray yow let him goe on, it is a very good meanes to keep him from being one of the Treaty.

My humble service to my Lady, to *nostre fils* & all freinds. Make excuses for my not wryting now because of the waters. Our freinds at Highgate are very well.

LXXII. SAME TO SAME.

Whitehall, 20 *July* 1669.

I thoght to have comd in on Saterday & written, but my physick discomposing me after dinner I could not;

and now I am in waiting, yet it shall not hinder my constant wryting. This inclosed is because forsooth my Lady Dutches [1] it seems grudges to allow me the roomes she grudged not Earl Rothes & Midleton.

I cannot answer concerning the Commission,[2] but I shall by the nixt. In publick busines I like well what yow have yet done. The Archbishop will come off.[3] The stories of opposition to the union trouble me not, for none of those wise arguments can hinder a Commission to treat, which is all now intended. We cannot dispers the opposition there, but it were well if any correspondent with Lord Arlington wold write it. I am glade the matter of the Highlands is like to settle [4]; yow have indeed made your put good, but I am sorie Earl Argyll was made the shoing horne & was so neir being put into the castle.

Yow will see the proclamation against conventicles [5] in the Gazette verbatim. I am called away; my service to *nostre fils*. I heare our freinds at Highgate are very well; I have not had time to see them.

LXXIII. LAUDERDALE TO ——.

(*enclosed with preceding*).

WHITEHALL, 20 *July* 1669.

MY LORD: I finde by a letter from my Lady Marg. Kennedy my self charged with disobliging my Lord Duke of Hamilton, but she tells me not nor can I gues in what. But she tells me very plainly that it was not expected that

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[1] Duchess of Hamilton. Apartments were often reserved in Holyrood-house (of which the Dukes of Hamilton are hereditary keepers) for the use of officers of State.

[2] For the Union: see next Letter.

[3] Cf. Airy, ii. 136.

[4] See Letter 54. Consequent on resistance in Lochaber to the collection of taxes, and the hesitancy of chiefs of clans, the Council on 29th July issued a proclamation enforcing all the laws already passed for ensuring the peace of the Highlands.

[5] Proclamation was made on 3rd August charging heritors to inform of any conventicles held on their lands.

I should turne out my Lady Duchess out of thc Abbey, who is the heretable keeper of it. Truely I did not thinkc that my using those roomes which Earles of Rothes & Middleton used wold have been so understood. I intreat your Lordship to make knowen to her Grace that I shall not willingly deserv such a charge. I have told my Lady Margaret that the roomes of State & the 2 roomes above where I lay last are absolutely necessarie, & that it were convenient my Lord Yester & some who come with me with my servants should lodge in the house; but yet I shalbe willing to be straitned as much as she pleases provided she allow me the two roomes wherc I lay last, together with the roomes of state & the office houses. Be pleasd to let her Grace know she shall turne me out but I will not turne her out. I will not trouble her Grace with a letter seing I had this onely at second hand. Make this knowen to my Lady Duchesse if you thinke fit, from, My Lord, Your most humble servant, LAUDERDAILL.

LXXIV. LAUDERDALE TO TWEEDDALE.

WHITEHALL, 22 *July* 1669.

Yours of this day sinnet requires no answer, except to approvc of your way with our Archbishop, for I can say nothing of the purpos till I heare what the Committee does. I hope well of the Archbishops cariage, but I am desperat as to the othcr partie. They are unsatisfiable; what they wold have begd before they will reject when offered. Oh they are a terrible insolent generation. One peice of it I met from Mr Steuart yesterday. He had the confidence to aske me yesterday if in this nixt Parliament the Declaration wold be dispenced with. I told him I knew not what the King wold doe, but I was sure I should not advise it nor be commissioner to execute it, which I inlarged so as I sent away the gentleman with a flea in his eare. I heir returne yow the draught of the Commission. It is very exceeding well, onely I scrupled one thing. In the bodie it makes the Commission to all the meetings of

the Parliament, and in the end it concludes with the first Session. Now yow know if the Union proceed, the first Session wilbe very short; the Parliament must adjorne, and then either there must be a new Commission or a new Commissioner. Upon this I asked the King what his pleasure was, and he said he wold have it during this Parliament. This may be easily helped; some few words yow will see altered by my hand, which are not considerable.

Excuse me to all freinds. I was abroad with the King; I came back & sate dounc to write, but was called on & have writt this after the Kings supper. I have now bespoke my coach heir; I wish the horses come from Holland in time. I shall soone have all ready heir, but my money will fall very short.

LXXV. SAME TO SAME.

Whitehall, 24 *July* 1669.

I was glade by your yesterdayes letter to finde yow so hopefull of the success of what the King hath done toward the quieting the dissenters. The grounds of your hopes are I confess rationall, & I trust as much the gentleman who gave yow the hopes as any man can doe; yet when I consider the insufferable humor of those unsatisfiable cattle I confess I can not hope, but a little time now will cleir us and let us see what to trust to.

By this post I had a letter from my Lord Chancellar by which he offers me very civilly any of his lodgings, but withall expresses a jealousie as if there were a designe to get a warrant from the King to turne him out of them. I have thanked him for his offer, and given him assurance I will neither be the occasion nor the instrument of turning him out. Indeed my Lady Dutches needed not to have made all this din. It seems she hath a minde to be severe to her freinds, for none of this was in the times of my two predecessors; or els it is resolved to pick a quarrell with me, for I doe not yet know wherin I have given cause of offence to her Grace or my Lord Duke.

I approve of what yow doe as to Melgum. Our freinds at Highgate are very well. Now my waiting ends on Monday my letters shalbe longer.

LXXVI. SAME TO SAME.

WHITEHALL, 27 *July* 1669.

I had yours of the 20 with ane account of what yow had begunn at the Committee, which I like very well; onely I pittie your taske. The Archbishop wrote to me his set speech at the Committee, with a cleir enough view of his judgment sutable to what yow write; but I cannot answer it till I see what is done upon the matter, & then I meane to answer it. Nor need I to answer the Earl of Atholls very civill letter. I did much approve your keeping up the letter to the 2 Archbishops; I was never very much for it, and at this time it wold be too great a mortification. This day all my hangings with chairs & stooles are packt up & wilbe sent away to morrow. I have bespoke a rich coache heir which shalbe sent in time; I hope yow are carefull of the coach horses. My liveries & all other things are going on apace. It is high time yow were sending up the materialls of my instructions, and that *nostre fils* were thinking of returne. I have some hope the King may not goe the progres, for no orders are yet given.[1] I saw your freinds well at Highgate yesterday.

LXXVII. SAME TO SAME.

WHITEHALL, 3 *August* 1669.

On Thursday last I was unavoydably hinderd from answering yours of 22 July.[2] On Fryday by 5 in the morning I went to Shirenes & Chattam in a Yacht with his Majestie & returned not till Sunday; so this is the first time I could write since this day sinnet. Now there

[1] See next Letter.

[2] Printed in Historical Commission's Report on *Laing MSS.*, i. 372.

lye 3 of yours before me to answer ; but in the first place I must tell yow I left your freinds at Highgate very well. Charles names every bodie in the hous ; me he calls Gran ho ho. He speaks any thing, runnes up & doune alone, & eats with a very good stomack. John thrives very well, hath two teeth & is a merrie man.[1]

Now as to your 1st of the 22. The first part of it relates to your preparations in the Committee, which yow have broght to a very good end as I shall tell yow anone. The 2nd part of that letter does not onely seem strange but troubles me, the more then drynes which I now finde betwixt yow & a freind of mine. I did when I saw yow last suspect a drynes & was sorie for it, and I yet hope there is more of jealousie then real ground of breach of freindship betwixt yow. It is not possible for me to doe any thing at this distance toward the removing of it ; I hope when I have the happines to see yow both it shall of itself easily be blowen over. In the meane time all I beg is that the world may not take notice of it to laugh at us all ; keep but faire till I come, & then I hope it is onely your clothes are faln out. The next thing yow mention is my writing to my brother & to my sister Lundin[2] ; I hope I have by this post satisfyed both, & to my brother I have told my minde freely as to the conditions which he wrote to me. If they agree I have left the time to themselvs. The last thing yow mention is the Earl Marishalls pretensions to a prorogation of his tack[3] ; I have heard little of it, & shalbe very carefull if it be pursued. I doe not at all beleev that brag of a promise, & I expect the fuller information which yow promise. Your 2nd letter of the 24 (which I found heir at my returne) begins with the stop of our unkles signature.[4] I wonder at my Lord Advocat so frivolous exceptions not

[1] See Introduction.

[2] Charles Maitland of Halton. Lauderdale's other brother, Robert (died 1658), married Margaret, only daughter and heiress of John Lundin of Lundin.

[3] William, 7th Earl Marischal. He delivered up the Scottish regalia in 1661. Died March 1671.

[4] Earl of Argyll (see Letter 49).

worthie of him. Alwayes I expect the signature amended as yow promise, which shalbe soone dispatched. In the meane time he sends yow this inclosed warrant for a buck from his freind Tom Gray, the Lord Grays sone[1]; send for it before the season be out which is 14 of September. The next thing concerns the Earl of Athols signature.[2] I wonder not at the stop of it, but I wonder much at the presenting it; yow may remember my advice was positive that it should be kept up till there were a vacancie, & I thoght yow undertooke it. Survivances are most informall and invidious; sure it was needles vanity to offer it till there were a vacancie for till then it is of no use. Once more my advice is to let it alone till the place be voyd, then wilbe time enough, & I hope I shalbe wiser then to committ such another fault. I shall say no more of the lodgings[3] till I see what my letter produces. I sent yours to Ham, & receavd the inclosed for yow yesterday.

Now as to your last letter of 27,[4] I hope the course the Councell hath taken upon the Kings letter may doe good (if the mad dissenters doe not spoyle all), and I approve very much of your cariage with my Lord Primat, whose consent I am very glade of and shall write to him by the nixt. I did reade the report to his Majestie, who was very well pleased with it.

In the last place yow mention my commission, which I here returne to yow with the Kings hand at it.[5] Pass it when yow please.

Yow are much in the right my money will not hold out, indeed I must at least make use here of above fifteen hundred pounds more. I hope yow will consider of a warrand & send it for at least one thousand pounds more, & I thinke it fitter to have it by way of extraordinary then to beginne my allowance sooner then the day I set out. Earl Middleton had 6000 lib., sure I may have the

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[1] No such son mentioned in *Scots Peerage*.

[2] See Letter 69.

[3] At Holyrood.

[4] Printed in Airy, ii. 189.

[5] Lauderdale's commission is dated 2nd August (printed in *Privy Council Reg.*, ii. 80).

half, & Earl Rothes had 2000 lib. & yet boght nothing. I thinke I ought not to be a looser. Hasten me ane answer.[1]

It is time, more then time, yow should hasten up *nostre fils* with materialls for my instructions & for the King's letter to the Parliament, of all which yow have not said a word since we parted; for Gods sake delay it no longer. Thus yow see 3 hungrie meales in writing makes the 3rd a glutton. My humble service to my Lady.

LXXVIII. [SAME TO SAME.]

HIGHGATE, 31 *August* 1669.

On Saterday I gave you notice of the safe arrivall of *Nostre fils*. I shall now adde what occurres upon all those matters. On Sunday before dinner he & I waited on the King to receave his commands in all those things which are to be the subject of my instructions; but we onely spoke of Scots matters, for I was to waite on his Majestie as to the Union that evening at the Committee of forraigne affaires. And first as to the matters of the Church, I perused *nostre fils* his instructions & did consider the draught of the Act.[2] MR & I had reade it; he liked it not at all & I thought some things too particular, & others too chequing to the Bishops. But I like the instruction yow drew very well, & the better that the act it self is to be transmitted first to his Majestie; so that we did trouble his Majestie no furder then with the generall which is in the instruetion, which he liked very well, & I acquiesed in it. So that out of your draught & MRs draught & what we may satisfie one another, we have

[1] Royal letter to Treasury, 7th December 1669, authorised payment to Lauderdale of £2000 sterling in addition to the £4000 already warranted for his accommodation as Commissioner to Parliament. On 13th June 1670 order was given for payment of an allowance of £10 sterling daily from the day of his return from Scotland (to London) till the day of his departure thither again; and for £50 sterling per day while Parliament sat.

[2] On 16th November 1669 an Act was passed asserting the King's supremacy over all persons and in all causes ecclesiastical (*Acts of Parliament*, vii. 554).

ill luck if when I come we doe not draw such ane Act as may be fitt to be sent to the King.

The King is content that there be anc instruction in generall to consent to what thc Parliament shall doc as to the publick debt; the like for debitor & creditor, as also for trade & the preemption of Salt & exportcd coale. The next thing we spoke of was the ryding of thc Parliament.[1] I explaincd to him how it was last; he did not like the place the Archbishops rode in last, & as ill that the Dukes & Marquisses rode behindc thc King or his Commissioner. I told him the reason I conceavd was because antiently the Earl of Angus bore the Croune, and the Dukes & Marquisses did not like that he should ride in a better placc then they. His Majestie said that was a great mistake, for it is the Croune & not the caryer who rides in that place, and he thoght the best expedient was that the Marquisses & Dukes should ride in their place after the Earles, the Archbishops after them, then the Heralds & honors. So I am to have ane instruction with authority to alter what shalbe thoght necessary with the advice of thc Privie Councell. As to the sitting the King wold heare nothing of alteration, nor doc nothing as to the Articles, he likes the present frame of the Articles so well. Concerning thc redemption of Church few dueties & superiorities, I am contented with the generall instruction yow sent. This was all past with his Majestie, and according to this we have this day drawcn my instructions to be presented to his Majestie at Southhampton. But alas we have met a stumble as to the union. You heard how confident Sir Tho. Clifford was that the nomination was in the King, but on Sunday my Lord Kceper broght the journall bookes by which it is most apparent both Houses named them. Alwaycs all that matter was appointed to be adjusted betwixt my Lord Keeper & me. We met yesterday above ane houre & we have appointed to finish all at his countrey housc on Thursday, which I am to carry to the King & to be at Southhampton on Saterday Godwilling. The King commanded me not to

[1] See *Reg. of Privy Council*, III, pp. vii, viii.

beginne my journey till his returne, which he promises to be on Saterday come sinnet; so I must not goe so soone as I hopt, for I must bring as cleir conjectures of the Union as I can, and what the King & my Lord Keeper will say upon it. I shall doe what I can in *nostre fils* concern when I see the King, who was gone five houres before I gott your last of this day sinnet. Hither I came to doe busines but have been tortured with company, so that it is so late that I can write no more to yow, nor a word to any els. Yours freinds heir are very well. *Nostre fils* behaved himself extraordinarious.

LXXIX. SAME TO SAME.

Whitehall, 21 *September* 1669.

This is in the first place (according to my promise) to give yow assurance that by Gods permission I shall set out on Monday next the 27 of this moneth, and shall if it please God be at Morpeth either on Twesday the fifth or at furthest on Wedensday the sixth of October, where I hope to meet yow & no bodie els.

This I hoped should have been my last dispatch, for I have ready the Earl Dunfermelines new Commission,[1] the warrant as yow sent it for the old excise, a letter to the Councell and another to the Commissioners of the Thesaurie concerning the preemption of Salt & forraine Coale, with some other little things. But I have been held so busie that it was impossible for me to write. I dined with my Lord Arlington, and have been at my Lord Keepers (who is this day come to towne) till now it is neir time to end & not to beginne wryting. We met my Lord Keeper, Lord Arlington, Mr Thesaurer, Secretarie Trevor & myself, and I hope we have now adjusted all our matters ready for our last meeting before the King. I say I hope it, for I am not sure bot we may change our mindes once more as we have done twice already. But I intend to

[1] Commission was granted to Charles, Earl of Dunfermline, for calling all collectors of public money to account for their intromissions since 1663.

send those papers on Thursday, which I hope will tryste as well with your nixt meeting of Councell & Exchequer as if I had sent them this night. I have further to acquaint you that my Lord Cassillis [1] had spoke with his Majestie & prest his busines when I was not there. The King told me he answerd he wold speake with my Lord Lauderdaill & him together, which he did this day, where in opening the busines I feare I have broght my self into as ill a predicament with him as you are. The result was his Majestie will not recall his order for my keeping up the gift of the ward. But I have some ill news to tell you. I moved his Majestie as to 1000 lib. sterlin of the 4th terms payment of the taxation to Earl Erroll,[2] but his Majestie flatly refused it till he be ready to distribute to more; so we must try another time for it. Your freinds I left yesterday very well at Highgate.

LXXX. [*Draft*] TWEEDDALE TO MORAY.

HOLIRODHOUS, 22 *October* 1669.

My last was on Tewsday. Upon Wedensday morning the Lords of Articles meet & my Lord Comissioner proposed the ansuering of the Kings letter. Upon speaking to the materials wherof, the leawing the nominatione of the persons, their quorum, the time & place of the treaty, to the King cam in debait. My Lord Comissioner only told it had bein demanded by King James in the former treaty & left to him. After som debait which was holden up by My Lord Duk of Hamiltoune, it was resolved, & a vote passed theron. Then the Duk, Argyle, the Primat, the Register,[3] Advocat,[4] Lord Lee,[5] Provost of Edenbrught,[6] & my self wer apointed to bring in the ansuer again nixt meeting. It was layd by us upon the Register, who had

[1] John, 7th Earl: opposed to the Government's policy.
[2] Gilbert, 11th Earl of Erroll.
[3] Sir Archibald Primrose of Chester.
[4] Sir John Nisbet of Dirleton.
[5] Sir James Lockhart of Lee, afterwards Lord Justice Clerk.
[6] Sir Andrew Ramsay of Abbotshall.

it ready nixt morning beeing Thursday & sent it first by me to My Lord Comissioner, who mead som amendments therin, & the comittee meeting after in his bedchamber did all aprove therof. That fornoon it was brought to the Articles & noe alteratione offered bot of on word by Earl Kincardin, that we might beseech his Majestie to nominat the persons in stead of humbly offer it to him, bot the last was judged to leav the King mor at his fredom if the Parliament of England should not follow the example. Then it was unanimously aprowen. That morning My Lord Comissioner had heird of caballing in the hows by som who wer displeased they wer not of the Articles, Lords & others especialy Lawers,[1] & resolved he wold not put the Parliament to pass the letter that night bot give them time to debait who had a mind to it, that the humour might evaporat & he might better know the temper of the hows, which accordingly fell out. For after twis reading the ansuer, the King[s] letter beeing one read befor it, on Mr R. Dicksone,[2] a lawer whom I suppos yow know who servs now for New Galloway, starts the debait & mows for a second reservatione then that of returning the Articles of the treaty to be allowed or disallowed in Parliament, reserving the fundamental laws & rights & priwiledges of particular persons as was in the old Comission. Having arguid a littel agans the unione it self & that the passing this letter determined an unione & acquiesced to it, he was seconded by a long winded discourse of Sir George Makingee[3] (soe we never want on of that name) & for Rosse. After him spok Sir Georg Gordon[4] & rawild into the subject matter of the treaty, as all of them did, & this Gordon most impertinently into the succcssione to the Crowne of Scotland if the lin of King Jams should fail; for which he was in the conclusion sharply taken up by My Lord Comissioner & had a sorie reprimand, for my

[1] prob.=lawyers : *vide* 6 lines *infra*.

[2] Mr. Robert Dickson, M.P. for New Galloway.

[3] Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh : later King's Advocate. His first entry to public life was as M.P. for the County of Ross.

[4] Sir George Gordon of Haddo, M.P. for Aberdeen. Cf. Airy, ii. 144.

Lord Comissioner did not otherways interpose bot left us to a free debait. Som wer desirous of a delay, wherin the Duk for all his assent in the morning wold not fail to cabal. At lenght My Lord Comissioner put an end to the debait by adjourning till nixt day at 10 a clok & alouing the members to see the letter mean while in the Clerks hands. This fornoun the Parliament meet & the debait was reneucd affresh by the sam persons, Sir Gorg continewing ane hour in a branchid speech as impertinent as ever you heard, & Sir Pitter Wedderburne of Gosford [1] only joyning with them in the debats, the Lords falling of except the Duk who according to his lawdable custome catchid at a wyld propositione mead by the President that the Parliament might declair if any persons unfit wer namid by the King, or thought fitt to add others mor fitt, it might be in ther powr to ad or alter, which the Duk secondid ; Sir Georg Gordon turning it in end to a motione for two letters, on concerning the Unione in general, another anent the nominatione after this manner. Thes redicoulous motions being layd asid the hous came to a wote & aproved the letter unanimously save one, Sir Georg Mackingee, in love of singularity as much as solituide. Now I most tell yow that the Duk upon Wedensday morning was farder out of tun[e] then ever I see, exclaiming aganis the constitutione & maner of electione of the Articles, in soe much as nothing wold satisfy bot his proposing ane altcratione of the manner, & he wold acquent My Lord Comissioner, then moue it in the Articles. With much adoe I got him put from it, bot in short he is never 24 hours of a tune & I dar promise nothing of him, soe factious inclinations & the insinwations of you know whom ar still soe pourfull with him that he maks him speak his mind whilst himself goes sweetly along. Pray mak noe us[e] of this soe particular account bot for your owen informatione, or what yow think fitt to say to one mor, then comitt it to the fyre.[2]

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[1] M.P. for Haddingtonshire.

[2] For whole subject-matter of this Letter, cf. Airy, ii. 140 *seq.*

Pray delyver the inclosed to Sir Thomas Clifford [1] & at my desir give him ane acount of our proceedings. I have sent him the Parliaments ansuer to the Kings letter, & it will be fitt you shoe him the Kings letter.

LXXXI. LAUDERDALE TO TWEEDDALE.

Whitehall, 7 *April* 1670.

Thogh I hope & heartily wish yow may be comd away, yet I venture this onc more to let yow know that the bill for the treaty of union will pass to morrow, & I hope all end faire on Saterday, that his Majestie may goe to Newmarket where I shall not attend him.

This morning the King hath letters from Madame [2] that she will give him a visite at Dover. The day is not set & Monsieur [3] does not come. She writes also dismall news, that Count Serini hath basely forfalted his allegeance & turned to the Turks, & surprized 3 important garrisons & cut the Christian souldiers throats.[4] The places are not named, but this will certainly ingage the Turke against Germany. Your children are all well; I sate this evening 2 houres & playd with them. I keep that hous till yow come, that if yow finde not a better yow may use that; it is big enough. Hast yow.

LXXXII. SAME TO SAME.

Ham, 24 *April* 1670.

By Thursdayes post I gave yow the reason why I did not write to yow since yow came out. I directed my

[1] Controller of the Household, and one of the Commissioners of Treasury. The 'C' of the Cabal.

[2] Henrietta Anna Maria, Duchess of Orleans, sister of Charles II. They met at Dover on 5th May, and on 1st June the Treaty of Dover was signed. She died 30th June 1670.

[3] Philip, Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV.

[4] Count Peter Serini, captured at end of April by Emperor Leopold before he could obtain help from the Turks (*Cal. of State Papers Domestic*, 1670, p. 214).

letter to Huntington, Stilton or Stamford (for by your letters I was sure it should meet yow at one of these places); I sent it by the by-bag, but all the care was in vaine seing yow come Nottinghame roade, as by your last from Tuxford I finde. I am glade my Ladies paine was gone, & I hope yow will all come safe on Twesday to London. *Nostre fils* caries this to Dunstable to yow to morrow. I am soric I cannot possibly come till Twesday, & then Godwilling I shall meet yow on the roade betwixt Barnet & St Albans; & have for your intertainment sent yow my news letters.

LXXXIII. SAME TO SAME.

Morpeth, 1 *September* early 1670.

I wrote from Yester and you will get it to morrow. This comes by the ordinary which came from Edinburgh on Twesday. At Lauder I had yours of 25 and yesterday that which you sent by Saterdayes post. All I can tell you is that hither I came all the way on horsback, heir I take coach and shalbe this night at Durham Godwilling, & so forward as fast as I can, & shall write by every post which overtakes me. Heir are with me eleven of our Commissioners; I shall treat them as well as I can all the way, and we shall be a large quorum Godwilling at London before our day. This place affords just nothing to say. Present my most humble duety to the King. Adieu.

LXXXIV. SAME TO SAME.

Whitehall, 13 *September* 1670.

After *nostre fils* left me at Doncaster I mist all the posts still betwixt stages, so could not writc. At Huntington my Lord Chancellar & I left the company on Thursday last & dined at my Lord Arlingtons fine hous, where I

found the Countes of Dysert & the Lord —— Maynard [1] with them. We went to Lord Maynnards house, where we stayed till Monday morning, then my Lady Dysert went streight home to Ham. We went & dined with Mr Speaker & came hither at night. Heir I found all your letters. Yours of the 6th is long & materiall, but it is impossible for me to answer it till Thursday; onely I have gotten the Kings order as to Col. Lockhart & shall Godwilling upon Thursday dispatch it with the things that yow desire. I receavd a more gratious welcome then I deserved, & soone after His Majestie caried me to his closet & spoke of other then Scots affaires. I have often spoke with him since of divers purposes, but have not time to write now being deadly wearie. This morning by the Kings command our Chancellar & I went to my Lord Keeper to meet him & my Lord Arlington & Sir Tho. Clifford, where we adjusted the opening of the Commissions to morrow in the Exchequer chamber, where nothing wilbe done but once to sitt doune & reade both Commissions, & then by the Kings command we wilbe adjorned till Saterday morning at Somerset house which is the place appointed for the treatie. His Majestie hath commanded me to preside for our Commissioners; so the first of the English Commission & I are to sitt together at the middle of a large squaire table, & the Commissioners of each Kingdome are to sitt from each of us two round about. The rest yow shall have on Thursday. I am now comd from seing the Dutches [2] at St James, & am wearie & going to supper. My humble service to my Lady, with my blessing to *nostre fils* & *fille* & the poore babies.

The Duke of Buckinghame [3] came hither on Fryday, but of him I can write nothing. The King rallied him that I was comed from Scotland, had kept a post (?) [&] was [as] soone here as he from Paris.

[1] William, second Lord Maynard of Estaines *ad turrim* (Little Easton, in Essex), whose second wife was Margaret, sister of the Countess of Dysart. He was Controller of Household 1672-87.

[2] ? Duchess of Cleveland (Letter 63).

[3] He was Charles's emissary to discuss a commercial treaty with France, and arranged for the secret Treaty of Dover.

LXXXV. MORAY TO TWEEDDALE.

17 *September* 1670.

It is purely to insult that I write now, for I have nothing from you, & little to say ; & which is more, that I have to say will it is like be better told you by E[arl of] L[auderdale] who is just now writing with me at the same table. This morning we met according to the adjornment from the Exchecker Chamber. The copies of the Commissions were interchanged, & then the Lord Arlinton delivered to the Lord Keeper a copy of the Kings message signed by his Royall hand, hauing before given another to the Lord Commissioner. The Lord Keeper read it, and after a very short debate wherein onely 3 or 4 spok, it was agreed that the meeting should be adjourned till Thursday morning, and against that time both sides should come prepared to debate what shall be the subject of the first debate, it having been moved by the Duke of Buckingham that the third head of the King's message should be it. Afterwards the meeting was adjourned, and the Commissioners of either nation withdrew to their sevcrall appartments. There they sate an hour, & the English agreed to the third Article,[1] but we have not yet pitched on any one but are to think on it till Monday in the afternoon, by which time the Lord Commissioner & his brother will be back from Ham. Meen time some of our number are to meet at a full or great Comittee on Monday morning to considder upon all particular Articles that may be fit to be considered & insert in the treaty. So, dearest SS., ADieu.

LXXXVI. LAUDERDALE TO TWEEDDALE.

Whitehall, 22 *September* 1670.

It were injust in me to blame your missing Twesdayes post, being so guilty myself, but meetings & waiting

[1] Concerning the Succession (and see Letter 87).

makes it impossible for me to write. Therfor make my excuse to Col. Lockhart & pardon me yourself.

I send yow a true narrative of our proceedings, which yow shall constantly have of my dyting thogh not my wryting, & yow may acquaint freinds with it.

This is onely to answer your last concerning the two conventicling ministers at Baith[1] whose freinds offer security for their keeping no more conventicles & for their good behavior. I acquainted our fellow Commissioners who are of the Councell. They advised that if those ministers wold signe the bond themselvs with caution as yow propose, that it be accepted & they indemnifyed for the future. Then I asked the Kings commands in it, and he was very cleir that caution should be accepted as yow propose. This is also my opinion, for I desire we may be quite of their conventicling & that their byganes be byganes. I am called to waite at supper. My blessing to all at Yester.

LXXXVII. SAME TO SAME.

Whitehall, 22 *September* 1670.

On Thursday last I gave yow ane account of the opening of the Commission in the Exchequer chamber the 14th instant. On Saturnday last wee mett at Somersethouse (which is the place apointed for the Treaty), where wee receaved that message from the King of which yow had a copy by Saturndays post. It was intended that there should have been but one Originall delivered to my Lord Keeper,[2] but I insisted there must be two, and accordingly two Originalls were delivered, one to my Lord Keeper & one to mee. It was moved that we should presently proceed wpon the way of the Treaty, and which of the

[1] A conventicle was held at Beath, near Dunfermline, in June 1670, two of the ministers being Mr. John Blackadder, late of Troqueer, and Mr. John Dickson, late of Rutherglen. Other ministers were prosecuted at the same time for conventicling, and it is not ascertained who are referred to in the letter.

[2] Sir Orlando Bridgman.

Kings proposalls wee should begin with ; but beeaus the whole matter was new to us, and that wee behooved to meett amongst ourselves, I did by order of the Commissioners of Seotland propose that wee might adjourne ; and aceordingly the Treaty was adjourned to this day. My Lord Keeper invited us all to dinner, and wee apointed to meett amongst ourselves on Moonday in the evening. We found that the English Commissioners inelined that the Treaty should be by free debates & not by papers ; that it should be previously agreed that nothing might obleidge the Commissioners of either Kingdome, untill the whole Treaty were finished and the Instruments signed and sealed ; and that the third proposeall of the Kings should be first treated.

These things were the materialls of our meetings amongst our selves Moonday, Tuisday & Wednesday ; and we resolved to joine in all the three. This morneing wee mett at Somerset-house, and the Lord Keeper proposed that the way of treaty might be by free debates & not by papers. To this I deelared the eonsent of the Commissioners of Seotland. Then my Lord Keeper proposed that nothing might be obligatory on the Commissioners till all were agreed to ; to this also wee gave our assent, and that the results of the debates should be putt in writeing by a Committee of the Commissioners of either Kingdome and interehanged under eaeh Clerks hand, and yet not to eonelude either of the Commissioners till all were signed in ane Instrument. Then my Lord Keeper proposed to begin with the Kings third proposeall & read it ; to this I did deelare our assent, but (as it was resolved amongst us) I repeated the proposeall wnder the King & his heirs, leaveing out the words ' & sueeessours.' My Lord Keeper desired to know why wee left out these words, and I told him, aeeording as had been agreed amongst us, that wee found by the Aets of Parliament in the year 1604 it runne ' Wnder the King & his Posterity ' ; that we were willing to unite so inseperably, but that beeause ane Usurper might be Suecessor, & that there was a standing Law in England in King Hendry the 7th

his time that none should be punished for his adhereing to any that should be crowned King, wee desired that the word Successor might be putt out. The Earle of Anglesey [1] told us that heirs & successors were the terms in their Law, and that both signified one thing. Mr Attorney [2] told us that the Statute of Hendry the 7th did only indemnify & not approve such adherance. But wee insisted, and they desired to remove, which both they & wee did; and at our meeting wee resolved to adhere, but if they should presse us that wee should be content with it thus, 'Wnder the King & his heirs succeeding him.' When their debates were ended wee mett againe; and first my Lord Keeper proposed that the words might runne, That both Kingdomes be inseperably united under one Imperiall Croune, not mentioneing the King nor his heirs & successors. To this I presently answered that wee lyked it worse then any; for wee hold only unite 'wnder the King & his heirs.' Then my Lord Keeper told us they were so unwilling to differ, that they agreed to have it exprest as wee desired. Then both sides agreed that the name of that monarchy should be Great Brittaine, and that a Committee should be apointed for putting into writeing the agreements of this day, against our next meeting. They named for that Committee the Earle of Anglesey, Mr Attorney & Sir Leuelin Jenkins [3]; and wee named the Earle of Kincarden, My Lord Advocate & Sir Robert Moray; who are to putt in writeing what wee agreed to this day against Saturnday next at 9 of the clock in the morneing, which is the time of our next meeting. Then my Lord Keeper proposed which of the proposalls wee thought fitt to proceed upon next, that we might both of us be prepared for it. He offered to us either the first, Concerneing the securcing of our Laws, or the second,

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[1] See Letter 32.

[2] Sir Heneage Finch, of Raunston, Bucks, recently appointed Attorney General *vice* Sir Geoffrey Palmer, deceased.

[3] Sir Leoline Jenkins, judge of Admiralty, etc. Knighted 1670 after he had obtained the setting aside in favour of Charles II. of the Duchess of Orleans' claim to Henrietta Maria's personal estate (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

Concerneing the Parliament. Wee readiely choosed the first, to which they agreed; and so wee adjourned till Saturnday. The reason of this choice wes, becaus that is most easy, and wee are unwilling to fall upon the hard chapter of the Constitution of Parliaments in the Kings absence, for his Majesty goes on Moonday to Newmarkett for a fortnight, and wee will presse ane adjournement till his returne. But of this yow shall have ane account on Saturnday, for noe more can be sayd at this time. This must serv yow & all frcinds. Pardon that it is not my hand. I am, Yours, LAUDERDAILL.

LXXXVIII. MORAY TO TWEEDDALE.

WHITEHALL, 22 *September* 1670.

Your last of 15 goes near to fill up all blanks, and so you are in a fair way to be reconciled to me. I am satisfied with your tractableness, and am glad to think there is scarce any cause there to oblige you to stay after the Council day is over. I was mightily pleased with Gilberts [1] letter as to the blessing on his labours; I think it may produce good things, and would fain hear as much of the other Itinerants his Collegues. What you did for my brother was good and well.[2] You see by the warrants your thoughts & mine were the same. I need repeat nothing I said formerly for perfecting his matter and setting him on his feet, onely if Earl Dundonald & Lord Bellenden & you meet he may be dispatcht. Sir W. Bruce & I are to hold a consultation about your new house at Yester. The addition to your Edinburgh housc will do well, for I presume you will make the same stair be usefull to it that serves the other; but your present weariness will go over, & you will think of what I suggested when you are put to it.

I know not how so many of mine came to your hands

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[1] Gilbert Burnet (see Letter 89A).

[2] See Letter 58.

together, but I enquyre not after it since you complain not. I like well your going to Hamilton & expect good effects from it. I have already got from J. Kirkco by Sir W. Sharps order the 150 li. allowed the gentlemen that are Commissioners,[1] and so that cannot make any part of what R. Andrew should have. If he get one hundred at the term I think it will serve his occasion, but so he be satisfied with one or 2 I shall be well enough pleased [it] be reckoncd upon any thing due to me. For though I spend much more than one would judge my way of living would require, yet trust me I lay out nothing that I can forbear. If there were a warrant but for making accounts even between Sir W. Sharp & me, I would then be at great ease, unless the Lord Rutherford come to get the other 250 li. or the 300 li. lyes over my head here come upon me. This is all I need say of that subject to you till wee meet. Sir W. Temple is here [2]; I have endeavoured to sie him but have not as yet; as soon as I do I will offer him the information, but what shall I do with it if he return not to Holland ?

When there is any strange stories here that I know you are like to get them, those you hear there of war declared by France to Holland is not heard of here that I can learn. I directed Earl Newburghs letter to him. If my man bring me a diurnall [3] before this be closed you shall have any, & I think I shall seldom forget to send them when I write hercafter.

This day the Commissioners met and agreed on 3 things which lookes luckyly: 1, That nothing should be written but results of debates to be drawn up by a Committie of both nations. 2, That no article agreed on should be binding till the treaty be concluded. 3, The 3rd article of

[1] Royal letter of 17th November 1670 authorised payment to the Commissioners at specified rates, for the period from day of Treaty (14th September) to day of adjournment (12th November), viz. Chancellor, £500 sterling; each Earl, £300; Bishop of Galloway and each Lord of Session, £200; and each other Commissioner, £150.

[2] Sir William Temple, English resident at Brussels, a chief agent in the Triple Alliance (1668): supporter of Prince of Orange (see Letter 90).

[3] = newsletter.

the Kings fiar (?)[1] was agreed on, bateing the words 'and successors,' and a Committee was appointed to draw up these Articles of the Earl Anglesey, Mr Atturney & Sir Leulin Jenkins for the English, and Earl Kincardin, the Lord Advocat & I for us. The Committe meets to morrow & the whole Commissioners on Saterday. The English leave to us to choose the next head, & to morrow it is [to] be resolved which wee shall choose. I forget almost to ad that the new Monarchy is to be called Great Brittain. It is resolued we shall adjurn till thc King return from Newmarkit, where he will be a fortnight only, so you may be here in time to be at the hard chapters which I wish you to be at. Dearest SS., A Dieu.

LXXXIX. SAME TO SAME.

Whitehall, 27 *September* 1670.

At this time it will be no small feat to make out 2 or 3 lines of tollerable sense or import to you, for I had nothing yesterday from you. Our meeting for the Union is adjourned till the 14 as I take it of the next month, & the King, Queen & Duke are out of town. Besides all our Lords of Session except him who is at Ham are going to Oxford & thence to Cambridge, & so wee have little business worth the blotting paper withall. I have seen Sir W. Temple but not at his house, & so have not as yet delivered the information which I intend to deliver to morrow or cause A. Foster to do it, & make him a compliment next time I see him. Mr R. Hodge magnifies your civility to him, but tells me he is in such a low condition that he is upon the point of breaking up his family. I should be sorry the poor man starved, for besides the charity of it the bookes & papers he hath relating to the publick[2] are in my thinking of such concernment that he ought to be lookt after, & encouraged to impart all he

[1] Scottish law term = heir to property: in this case = King's heir and successor.

[2] See Letter 33.

hath and knoweth relating to the Kings service. Therefore pray minde him. After a pretty whiles thinking what to ad I finde I am at a point, & so bid hartily A Dieu to Dearest SS.—A. Foster sends you Gazettes.

LXXXIXA. [*Extract from Letter*] *from* [TWEEDDALE TO MORAY].

EDINBURGH, 27 *September* 1670.

Yesternight I returned from Glasgow and have made a very good journey, and finde the country most quyet, orderly and peaceable. The ministers that were sent there meet with all imaginable kindness from the people, they flock to hear them, and beg they may be provided with such ministers as they are and they shall never leave them.[1] There were 1200 hearing Mr Aird at Carluke, and the next day the whole parish of Deserf. Gilbert Burnet hath recovered the parish of Fenwick, the worst of all that country, and they come to hear him as they did Mr William Guthrie[2]; and so do all the rest. The Bishop is flocked to wherever he goes to be heard preach, and every Sunday he preaches in some one country church or other. I met with the ministers to whom the proposalls were made; I hope that business is in a fair way for a good answer. The Committee for purgeing goes on squarely. Two preachers are already turned out, and accusations taken against 10 or 12 more, and the country people come in pleasantly with them before the Bishop. Judge you how this country hath been lost with planting of such fellows, and the severities used to make them hear such pittifull creatures, and what ground there was for making

[1] Upon Archbishop Burnet's demission, Mr. Robert Leighton, Bishop of Dunblane, was appointed commendator or administrator of the archbishopric of Glasgow. A committee was formed by him and the Synod of Glasgow to investigate complaints against the clergy, members being Gilbert Burnet, professor of divinity in Glasgow, and Mr. James Aird ('Bishop Leighton's Ape'), and others. The Privy Council lent its support to the committee (*Wodrow*, i. 333-34).

[2] Minister at Fenwick, 1644-64; died 1665. Cousin of the Martyr.

such noise of disorders, and conventicles, and to blame the Indulgence for it.

XC. MORAY TO TWEEDDALE.

WHITEHALL, 29 *September* 1670.

This litle paper will serve to hold all I haue to say at present, & you will not challenge my breuity since you are so far in my debt. Since my last I know nothing hath occurred saue the assurance we haue the Prince of Orange[1] will be here suddainly, hauing already askt leavc of the States of Holland to come, and receiued their compliments, & hauing recommended to him the interest of the statcs here. The Earl of Orsery,[2] Sir Gabriel Sylvius,[3] Flamarin[4] & Father Patrick[5] they say go for him within a day or 2, that is assoon as the yaught is ready to carry them. Sir Gabr. is here now and tells me he hath a letter from the Prince shewing his readiness to come ; but neither Father Patrick nor Flammarin go with Earl Orsery. So, Dearest SS., A Dieu.

XCI. LAUDERDALE TO TWEEDDALE.

[*September ?* 1670.]

My indisposition having broke the Saterdayes meeting, we met yesterday & satc 4 houres. There were present Lord Keeper, Lord Arlington, Lord Ashley, Sir Tho. Clifford, Sir Tho. Littleton, MR and I. We had nothing like difference, & the result was the enclosed paper which in effect is my paper in anothcr methode, where yow

---

[1] Afterwards King William III. In 1672 appointed Captain General of the Dutch Union.

[2] See Letter 55.

[3] Envoy extraordinary to the Elector of Brandenburg ; knighted 28th January 1670.

[4] Monsieur Flammarin (Flamery), a French envoy.

[5] Father Patrick Maginn. For his varied activities see *Cal. State Papers Domestic* and *Cal. of Treasury Books.*

shall observ my preface is turnd into a short agreement that there shalbe fundamentalls. The rest is onely transposing the articles, and as to taxes explaining the matter as it must indeed be, for Excise on Commodities & Polemoney & Customes must be equall; Land tax onely according to proportion of each kingdome, which must be agreed by the Commissioners of the Union. The great stick is concerning Peers precedencie, which is left to further consideration. And by the way I must tell yow, the King is positively for us, that it must be according to creation. We did not determine that there must be two Houses, becaus that is no fundamentall to us. If it be changed we have no prejudice.

This inclosed paper was dictated by Lord Ashley with common consent, & we are to meet againe on Wedensday nixt. Now yow are to consider we are not ane authorized meeting, onely to talke & satisfy one another & report to the King what we thinke faisable, to the end it may be resolved how to cary on this great worke so happily advanced. Yow are to communicat under secrecie with confident freinds & transmitt your thoghts, & we shall constantly informe all that passes & indeavor to cleir your doubts.

XCII. SAME TO SAME.

4 *November* 1671.

By yours of the 24 October I was very glade to heare that all was well at Yester; I hope in God they shalbe so at Edinburgh.

You tell me that Mr Gilb. Burnet when he called at Yester said that I commanded him so to doe; indeed I did not suspect he wold faile of that duety, he told me he intended it & I did approve it, not dreaming it needed a command from me. But I doe more wonder he should pretend a commission from me to say that it should be your fault if it was not as well betwixt us as ever. Surely I never imployed him in such a message; I knew no

busines he had heir (except to shew me some of his owne papers), but I should never have dreamed he wold have created such ane errand for hes returne. I shall not examine it further, but it were strange if I wold have chosen him for a mediator betwixt you & me. And I am as farre to seek for understanding your discourse of mistakes & of your having taken so many wayes to remove them; but my greatest admiration is at what you adde, that you have suffered all you can by them, for I am wholly ignorant of those sufferings till you shall be pleased to informe me. Certainly I have neither been the occasion nor cause of them, nor doe I comprehend what those jealousies are which you take to be *coup du ciel* of which you committ the removall to God. I have often & by divers been troubled with most groundles jealousie, but truly I thinke my self very free from that disease myself. Heir are no considerable news.

XCIII. SAME TO SAME.

Whitehall, 9 *May* 1672.

It wilbe no news to tell yow that the King is well returnd from Portsmouth, exceeding well satisfyed with the French ships, officers & seamen & sojors. He was aboard the 3 flag ships of theirs, two of which are commanded by 2 of our religion. The King saw them under saile toward a conjunction with the Duke, which the Earl of Arlington did see compleated with greatest civilitie & mutuall satisfaction. He and my Lord Clifford were present at the Generall Counsell of Warre & came hither yesterday. They informe us that it was unanimouslie resolved to weigh anchor this morning, & to stand dircctly to the Dutch fleet, & by Gods grace to fight them if they doe not runne away. The Dutch were this day still ryding in Dover roade. It is conceaved thogh the winde be most contrary yet they may tide & turne it up & be with them to morrow morn.

This so much takes up my head that indeed I am very

unfitt to write much, yet I cannot but thanke your Lordship for your hearty congratulating the honors [1] the King hath been pleasd to heap upon me lately, & to expres my longing to heare of the safe delivery of *nostre fille*.[2] Present my humble service to my Lady, & my blessing to *nostre fils et fille* with the babies ; & so, Adieu.

---

[1] Lauderdale was created Duke on 26th May. On 24th November 1671 he had been made President of the Privy Council of Scotland, and admitted Knight of the Garter 18th April 1672.

[2] See Introduction (p. 116).

MEMORIES OF AYRSHIRE

about 1780

BY

THE REVEREND JOHN MITCHELL, D.D.

MINISTER OF WELLINGTON STREET SECESSION CHURCH, GLASGOW

Edited by

WILLIAM KIRK DICKSON,

LL.D., ADVOCATE

CONTENTS

of *Memories of Ayrshire*

PAGE

INTRODUCTION 245

MEMORIES OF AYRSHIRE—

Reason for writing Reminiscences: Arrangement of Subjects 253
Ayrshire 255
General Aspect of the Country 255
Houses 256
Dress 262
Farm Buildings 267
Agriculture 268
Domestic Animals 269
Dunlop Cheese 271
Education 272
David Allison, Schoolmaster of Beith 274
Religious Instruction 275
Classification of Society 276
Food: Porridge, Brose, Sowens, 'Float Whey' . . 278
Beer: 'The Nappy' 280
State of General Intelligence 280
Books 281
Societies: Freemasonry 283
Amusements: Markets and Fairs 286
Athletic Sports and Children's Games 287
Trades and Occupations: Silk Weaving 288
Muslin Manufacture 289
Cotton and Flax Spinning 289
Smuggling 290
Manners and Customs: Drinking Habits: Liquors 'good, plentiful and comparatively cheap': No Temperance Societies 291
'Little Stories' 292

PAGE

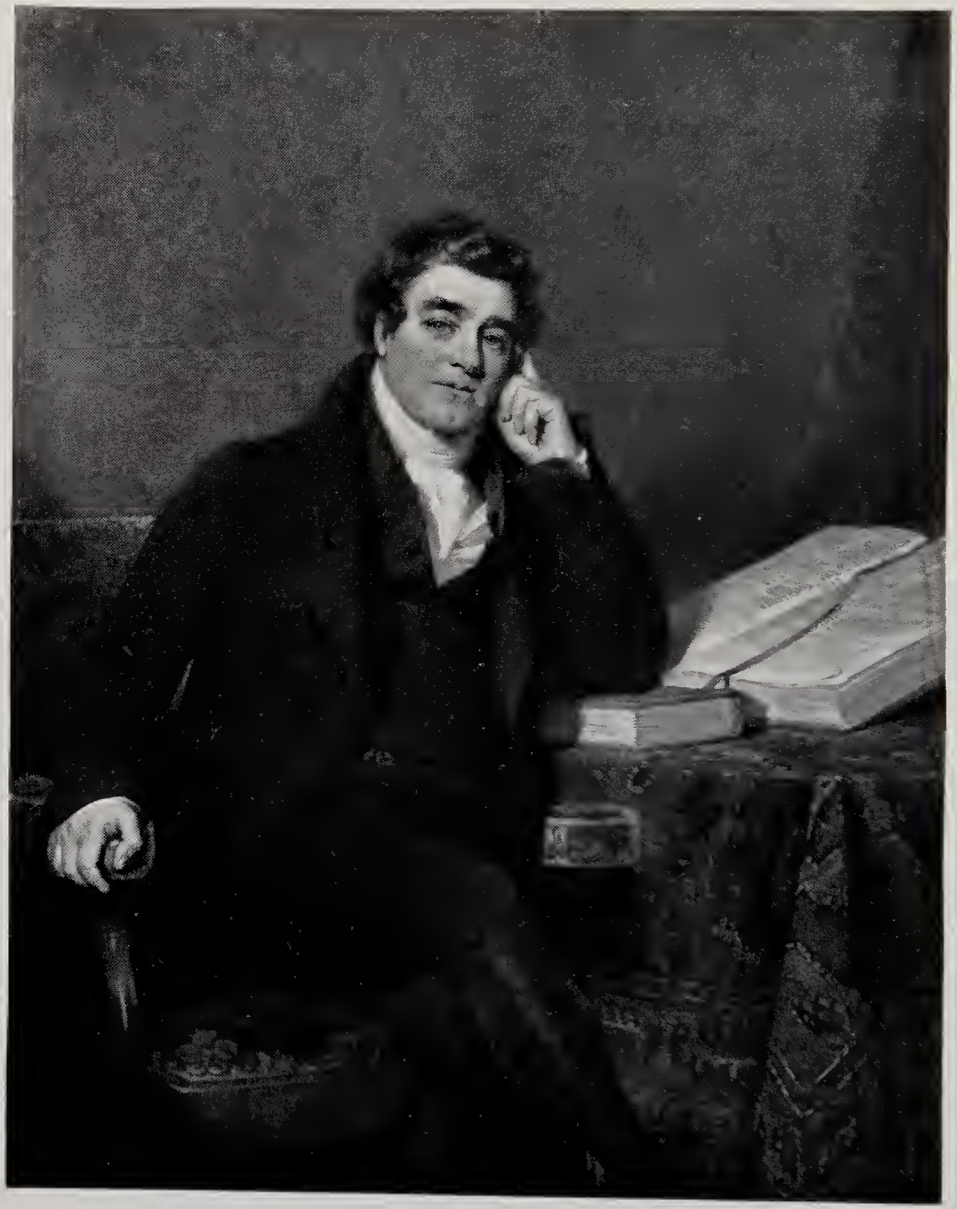
Courtships, 'not always prudent' 294
Baptisms 294
Funerals 295
Spirit of Society 297
Sabbath Observance 297
Sects and Parties: Whigs and Tories: No Jacobites: No professed Radicals or Socialists . . . 298
State of Religion 301
Established Church 301
Seceders 303
'Public Administrations' of Seceding Ministers . . 307
Their Personal Characteristics 307
Studies 309
Preparation of Sermons 309
Church Services 310
Notices of Individual Ministers:
Andrew Mitchell of Beith, the Author's Father . 312
William Jameson of Kilwinning: The 'Lifter' Controversy 320
James Taylor of Ayr 323
James Robertson of Kilmarnock 325
David Smeaton of Kilmaurs 329
Seceder Divisions and Re-union 333
Conclusion: 'An improvement has taken place in very many respects' 334

ILLUSTRATIONS

facing page

Portrait of the Reverend John Mitchell, D.D., from a mezzotint engraved by S. W. Reynolds, Engraver to the King, and S. Cousins, after the painting by John Graham-Gilbert, now in Trinity College, Glasgow. Published by John Graham, North Montrose Street, Glasgow, July 1825 245

Facsimile of a page of Dr. Mitchell's Manuscript . . 296



THE REVEREND JOHN MITCHELL, D.D.

INTRODUCTION

THE Manuscript now printed was written about 1842 by the Rev. Dr. John Mitchell, Minister of Wellington Street Secession Church, Glasgow, and has been placed at the disposal of the Scottish History Society by Sir George Arthur Mitchell, who is a grand-nephew of the author.

It presents a vivid picture of life and manners in a country parish in Ayrshire in the seventeen-eighties. That was the Ayrshire of Galt's *Annals of the Parish*, the Ayrshire of *The Jolly Beggars*, and of *The Holy Fair*, and of *The Cottar's Saturday Night*.

Dr. Mitchell was born at Beith on October 15, 1768. He was a son of the Rev. Andrew Mitchell, who was minister of the Secession congregation there, founded in 1761.[1] In the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, in the account of the Parish of Beith, supplied by the parish minister, the Rev. George Colville, Andrew Mitchell is

[1] The Secession from the Church of Scotland in the eighteenth century began with the formation of the Associate Presbytery in 1733, under the leadership of Ebenezer Erskine. It split into various sects, Burghers and Antiburghers, Old Lights and New Lights. The congregation at Beith belonged to the Antiburgher section. Their distinctive tenet was the unlawfulness of taking the Burgess Oath, in which the jurant was required to declare that "I profess and allow with my heart the true religion which at this present is publicly preached within this realm, and authorised by the laws thereof."

The history of the Seceders has been often written, from different points of view, varying from that of Dr. Thomas McCrie to that of Mr. Andrew Lang. The story is succinctly told, with references to the authorities, in Hill Burton's *History of Scotland*, chapter xci. In Miss Haldane's *The Scotland of Our Fathers* (MacLehose & Co., London, 1933), p. 132, there is a remarkable diagram, illustrating graphically the divisions and re-unions of Scottish Presbyterianism.

described as 'a man of sincere piety, who was respected by all denominations.' He died in 1812.

John Mitchell lived in his father's manse until he went to College at Glasgow, at about the age of fifteen. On August 1, 1793, he was ordained as the first minister of the newly formed Secession Church of Anderston, which was an offshoot from Duke Street Antiburgher Church. The membership of the church rapidly increased, and in 1825 it was proposed to move the church to a more central site. The Wellington Street church was built in 1827. (That was in the days of the body-snatchers, and it is of interest to note that burial vaults were constructed under the new church. The bodies buried there were afterwards removed and buried in the Necropolis of Glasgow.) In 1844, when Dr. Mitchell had completed fifty years of his ministry, there were over 1000 members in his church. It became one of the largest congregations in the United Presbyterian Church. In 1880 it was decided to move to the west end of the city. Wellington Church, University Avenue, was opened in 1884, and is now an important congregation in the Church of Scotland.[1]

In 1807 Mr. Mitchell received the degree of D.D. from Princeton College, New Jersey, and thirty years later the same degree was conferred upon him by the University of Glasgow. While minister of Anderston Church he was presented by members of his congregation with his portrait, painted by John Graham-Gilbert. It is now in Trinity College, Glasgow. On his completion of thirty years' ministry he was presented with an address on vellum, and in 1834, after forty years of service, he was entertained at dinner and received a gift of silver plate.

When a young minister he entered for an essay com-

[1] A sketch of the history of Wellington Street Church, and of Dr. Mitchell's ministry, is given in Dr. Robert Small's *History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church* (Edinburgh, 1904), vol. ii. p. 44.

petition, for a prize of £100, the subject being 'The best means of civilising the Subjects of the British Empire in India and of diffusing the light of the Christian religion throughout the Eastern world.' His was the successful essay. It was published, and attained some celebrity. In McKerrow's *History of the Secession Church* it is recorded that 'soon after the prize essay appeared, an acquaintance commenced between the author of it and Dr. Claudius Buchanan, the gentleman by whom the competition had been prepared; and some of my readers may probably smile when they are told that such was the opinion which this venerable person formed of the ability and information of the writer of the essay, that he made a proposal to him, to leave his charge in Anderston and accept of a situation which he had it in his power to procure—namely, that of being a general Chaplain in the British Army which was then engaged in active operations in Portugal.' The offer of the chaplaincy was not accepted.

In 1825 Dr. Mitchell was appointed by the United Associate Synod to their newly instituted Chair of Biblical Literature, which he held until 1843. He was actively concerned in promoting the union of the two branches of the Secession Church.

In 1799 he married Ann Gillespie, daughter of William Gillespie of Bishopton. He died on January 25, 1844.

In his old age Dr. Mitchell wrote, under the title of 'The Days of Auld Langsyne,' an account of the surroundings and social conditions of his youth, the Memoir now in the reader's hands. Thanks to a tenacious memory, he has given us a picture full of colour and detail, a valuable document of Scottish social history.

He describes the general aspect of the country, which was 'far from being cultivated or inviting,' consisting greatly of 'heath, moss, patches of straggling wood and

rudely cultivated grounds.' Roads were rough and badly kept, ditches seldom cleaned, hedges untrimmed, and there was little planting of young trees. Estate improvement was in its infancy. The houses of the country folk are described, the kitchen and the 'spence,' dark and smoky, with their open vents and box beds, and often only an earthen floor, and their simple furniture, a chest, a few chairs, a 'buffit-stool,' sometimes an eight-day clock. Theft was almost unknown, and people troubled little about locks and bars. The dress of the people 'suited an earlier stage of society, when even entire cleanliness was not studied, much less elegance.' 'The usual raiment of females was sufficiently plain, and might be represented as strong and serviceable rather than fine.' Young men ordinarily went hatless—in later life they wore the Kilmarnock cowl or the broad blue bonnet. Stockings were made at home. Shoes were thick and plain, and 'artificial shoe-blacking was unknown, except a little human spittle, and soot swept from the bottom of a pot might be so called.' Boys and girls went barefoot, and thrifty housewives on a visit to a 'neebour toon' might be seen bearing their shoes and stockings, and at the close of the trip washing their feet and putting them on. In bad weather women were protected by long hooded cloaks; men wore the plaid. Tailoring was elementary, and 'clothes were often sadly mis-shapen.'

Farms were still very small, and agriculture was primitive. Implements were clumsy and crops were scanty. There was little drainage, and artificial manures were unknown. There were no threshing mills, only the flail. The farmer depended chiefly on his dairy. There is an interesting account of the early days of Dunlop cheese.

Education was 'exceedingly inferior.' 'Reading alone was taught to all, writing only to a considerable portion of the scholars, arithmetic to a few, Latin to a select

portion, Greek seldom to any, and that very scantily, and mathematics, algebra, geometry, geography, history as distinct branches to none.' There were no proper school-books, no blackboards or maps, or globes, or school libraries. Most of the dominies were incompetent; Dr. Mitchell, however, pays a grateful tribute to the memory of his own old teacher, David Allison, the parish schoolmaster of Beith. Religious instruction was left almost entirely to the domestic circle.

The food of the people is described—porridge and broth, oatcakes and scones, and in later times potatoes—'float-whey' and sowens—also the brewing of beer and 'the nappy'—strong ale.

The general level of intelligence and information was not high. Outside of local news people were interested in Covenanting tradition—they were in the heart of the Covenanting country—in stories of Bruce and Wallace, in memories of the Fifteen and the Forty-five, the latter still a recent event. There was plenty of religious argument. Books in the home were scarce, and mostly religious —the 'big Ha' Bible,' the *Pilgrim's Progress*, the *Cloud of Witnesses*, Knox and Calderwood; one notes with interest among the books mentioned *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, one of the classics of witchcraft. There was no printing-press. There were no magazines, and the only newspaper seen at the manse was the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*. There were few societies, but there were several Masonic lodges in the district, one of them the famous Mother Lodge of Kilwinning. Foreign countries were practically unknown. The people were loyal and religious, 'a plain, simple-hearted people.'

They did not lack amusements. At markets and fairs there was much friendly festivity—not always for edification. There were athletic sports for the young men, leaping, throwing the hammer, putting the stone, and games

for the children, hoops, tops and kites, 'English and Scotch.' There were quoits and shinty, and in winter curling and skating. Cup-ties and football pools were still in the womb of time.

The beginnings of new industries are noted, silk weaving, introduced from Paisley, muslin manufacture, cotton and flax spinning, all of which raised the standard of life. Also there was much smuggling and illicit distillation.

There was a deal of drinking. 'Liquors, even foreign liquors, were good, plentiful and comparatively cheap,' and there were no temperance societies. Dr. Mitchell records some 'little stories.'

There are interesting notes on manners and customs. Courtships and matrimonial engagements were 'contracted in a manner not always prudent or directed by sound discretion.' Baptisms and funerals were the occasion of great gatherings and often of much conviviality. The actual funeral ceremony was grim enough. A curious funeral custom is noted of presenting to each mourner a tobacco pipe, also a portion of shortbread or currant bun, which the recipient was expected to pocket and carry home.

Church-going was general, and the Sabbath was strictly kept in externals. Contributions for religious or charitable purposes were not excessive ; Dr. Mitchell notes a case of a lady 'who was finely dressed on Sabbaths, stepping into a shop on her way to church and exchanging a halfpenny for two farthings that she might put one of them into the poor's plate.' In politics there were only two parties, Tories and Whigs. 'There were no Jacobites in all the parish as far as I know, hardly one republican, and radicals, chartists, or socialists did not then exist, or were not so designated.' Religious sects were few ; there were no Unitarians, or Independents, or Baptists, 'and I believe no Roman Catholics.' Everybody was Protestant and

Presbyterian. The Presbyterians were divided into the supporters of the Establishment and Seceders of various kinds, but in Beith, if not always elsewhere, ' these parties lived in peace, if not in intimate amity, with one another.' Andrew Mitchell, the Seceder minister, was on the most friendly terms with the minister of the parish, Mr. David McLellan.

It is a primitive world which Dr. Mitchell describes, rough and ignorant, given to drink, and with few of the amenities of civilisation, but it was full of manly virtues, industry and thrift, honesty and good neighbourhood, and one notes the beginnings of modern enterprise.

It is curious to remember that it was all contemporary with the world of Horace Walpole, and that among the Ayrshire lairds whom young Mitchell met by the roadside may have been Mr. James Boswell of Auchinleck.

The later pages of the manuscript deal with religion and ecclesiastical matters, and it ends with some portrait sketches of the leading Seceder ministers of the district, including the author's father. Dr. Mitchell was a good Seceder, and sets forth in the usual words of style the shortcomings of the Moderates, the evils of patronage, and the evangelical graces of the Secession, but there is no sectarian bitterness in his writing. He does justice to the good qualities of many of his brethren of the National Church, and dwells with satisfaction upon the cordial relations which often existed between both clergy and laity of the different communions. Some of this material was used by the Rev. David Scott in his *Annals and Statistics of the Original Secession Church*, published in 1886.

The Memoir justifies the author's claim that it includes ' details of which a future historian or antiquary or philosopher and politician may perhaps in some small degree avail himself.' It is pleasant to think that the Scottish

History Society should now be the means of fulfilling his modest hope that ' if it should swell into a small volume, and peradventure attain some humble place on the parlour shelf, or the drawing-room table, in the district or elsewhere, it may amuse an idle hour, or employ a vacant moment when the head or inmate of a house may not be at once prepared to respond to the call of a friend, or to receive a visitant.'

WILLIAM K. DICKSON.

EDINBURGH, *January* 24, 1939.

MEMORIES OF AYRSHIRE

'THE DAYS OF AULD LANGSYNE'

> Say not thou, What is the cause that the former days were better than these? for thou dost not enquire wisely concerning this.—Eccles. vii. 10.

My dear Children,

Having retired to this place for a little respite, and if God sees meet for a temporary restoration, I think I cannot better employ my time (besides the exercises of devotion, and attention to the higher concerns of being) than by inditing from recollections, as far as circumstances may allow, a few reminiscences that may prove perhaps amusing or interesting or even instructive to you. I am aware besides, that long habits of activity demand rather temperate employment than entire cessation from work, which last, would most probably contribute more to infelicitate, than to happiness. Old age too has its tedium and its languor, which require to be beguiled by innocent, and somewhat cheerful avocations. And while, what I am about to record may in some measure serve this purpose, I am not without hope that it may minister somewhat to higher objects. It will suggest, if I mistake not, strange contrasts; it will awaken your curiosity, and deepen your interest, in exhibiting to you a state of things which belongs to the olden times and has either now altogether disappeared, or is almost obliterated. It includes statistical details of which a future historian or antiquary or philosopher and politician may perhaps in some small degree avail himself. It may awaken the gratitude of the christian and patriot. It will be especially agreeable to you, I am aware, as exhibiting a portraiture, howsoever imperfect, of that portion of your fatherland where many of your ancestors spent their early days amid

the cheerful associations and exercises of childhood and youth, and where some who are endeared to you by kindred and friendship still reside. And if it should swell into a small volume, and peradventure attain some humble place on the parlour shelf, or the drawing-room table, in the district or elsewhere, it may amuse an idle hour, or employ a vacant moment when the head or inmate of a house may not be at once prepared to respond to the call of a friend, or to receive a visitant. I shall arrange what I have to say under the following topics for the sake of my own order of recollection as well as to minister to the completeness of the series of memoranda :—

General aspect of the country — population — classification of general society — houses — domestic furniture — personal attire — education — intelligence — opinions — amusements — trades — manners and customs — sects and parties — personal characters and anecdotes.

I have entitled these little memoranda, 'the days of auld lang syne,' because they involve a retrospect extending to sixty years ; not that all which may be mentioned existed at that distant period only, but that the little narrative includes details which stretch with various degrees of vicinity to that remote era. Nor have I thought it necessary to specify the contrasts in almost any case, because these are sufficiently apparent in themselves and may be easily known from reading, reflection, or observation, and would enlarge the little piece to an inconvenient size. Having been born in the district to which I refer and been conversant with it (more or less intimately) during the greater part of my life, which has now through the forbearance and blessing of God reached to upwards of seventy-four years, I thought myself entitled to imagine that my recollections of localities, and so forth, for the above period (60 years) might be considerably correct, while I am not sensible that I am actuated by any prejudice or partiality, which might bias statements of fact, either in regard to the scene, or its inhabitants, and I shall have a solemn pleasure in recording everything that

is favourable, and may gratify those who feel interested in that locality or in the country in general. At the same time the idea of such memoranda may not occur to many of my cotemporaries, while still fewer may be enabled through remaining distinctness of recollection, or bias of disposition, or extent of education, to put them somewhat correctly and in detail upon record.

The position of Ayrshire is well known. It occupies the most considerable portion of the south-westerly part of the mainland of Scotland. Anciently it was divided into three districts, Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham; the first of these embracing Stranraer & Galloway chiefly, the second, the sources and the banks of the rivers, Irvine and Ayr, and the third the eastern, the northern, and part of the western portion of the County, especially where it is conterminous with Renfrewshire, including the towns of Beith, and Stewarton, with the village of Dunlop. In the vicinity of the first of these towns the writer was born, and lived up to the time he went to College about the age of fifteen. It is to this town and the rural district connected with it that the reminiscences specially refer, but he has reason to suppose that they will apply in no small degree to the others, especially to the nearer portions of the County.

ASPECT OF THE COUNTRY

With respect to the general aspect of the district at the remotest period to which he has referred, as might be expected the face of the country was far from being cultivated or inviting. On the contrary, it appeared rough and dark, consisting greatly of heath, moss, patches of straggling wood and rudely cultivated grounds. The roads, made entirely by statute labour, were not smooth, irregular in their line, and far from being level in their track. The ditches which bounded them were seldom cleared out, and the hedges with which they were skirted being allowed to shoot forth into all their wild luxuriance were seldom cut and almost never pruned or clipped. Young trees were rarely planted, except perhaps in the

hedge-row, in short the work of rural improvement had not yet begun, the country presented upon the whole a bleak and somewhat repulsive appearance. But about this time Mr. MacDowall,[1] a gentleman of wealth, set the example of bold improvement upon an estate (Castlesemple) which, I believe, he had newly purchased, by draining at very considerable expense the lake of Lochwinnoch, by planting its skirts and also by enclosing and otherwise beautifying the slopes and levels in the vicinity of his Mansion house which stood on the margin of the lake. This example was followed with more or less zeal by other proprietors, especially by those in the vicinity according to their wealth and taste. From this period enclosures multiplied, hedge-rows and clumps of young planting began to bulk upon the eye, green fields met and cheered the view, small hamlets sprang up here and there with little gardens behind the houses, farm habitations became more neat & snug in their appearance, and the whole face of the country was improved and grew more inviting.

From what has just been said it will be evident that the population must have increased, although I cannot speak with certainty as to this fact since no census of the number of the inhabitants of the district, was, so far as I know at that time taken by Government authority.[2] Indeed I believe, the first enumeration in any way exact or formed upon any detailed plan, originated in Sir John Sinclair's Parish statistics, but there can be no doubt from the ordinary laws of human population that as the country being cleared and cultivated became more healthy and afforded surer, as well as more abundant means of subsistence, the inhabitants would increase.

HOUSES

Their dwellings also assumed an improved and more comfortable aspect, those reared about this time were

[1] Of Castlesemple and Garthland. He bought the estate of Castlesemple in 1727.

[2] The first General Census of Great Britain and Ireland was taken in 1801.

constructed on a better plan, warmer and more convenient, more roomy and more tidy in appearance. Formerly they were put down almost anywhere, apparently at random: now the site was chosen with a view in part to its dryness, the prospect which it commanded, and the facilities it afforded for cultivating the fields connected with it. After this period might be seen farm houses rising on little knolls surrounded by recent planted shrubbery or embosomed in the snug and thriving belts of young trees, and to which frequently an avenue, paved with round stones gathered from the fields, not indeed macadamised, but laid together with some art & labour, led onward.

The community was divided generally into the inhabitants of towns & villages or open country parts. The latter consisted of the proprietary, or possessors, or independent owners of possessions larger or smaller, usually about thirty acres, technically called 'Lairds,' who lived on their own lands and generally speaking cultivated their own fields. They were probably the feuars of the ancient Barons who rented portions of their estates at low rates, or retainers who had received a transfer of them for a small pecuniary consideration, or in requital for services, civil, domestic or military, which they had pledged. They were generally easy though not affluent in their circumstances, their houses snug, though not elegant, and their residences distinguished by a tuft of trees which overhung them, by a garden more or less extensive attached to them, by a few offices for farm purposes closely adjoining to them, and by a dry stone wall or hedge-row with which they were enclosed. These dwellings were frequently connected with a cow-house or byre and a stable with room for one or more horses where the cattle of both classes were lodged and tended, separated only by a passage called in the vernacular language a 'through-gang,' having a door at either end and dividing the former from the apartments of the family. These consisted of a kitchen or larger apartment,—where the household usually sat, took their meals, and slept, and

where any family work of industry that should be needed, or any conversation with neighbours who might chance to call for an evening's recreation was carried on,—as well as of an inner apartment, usually called ' a spence,' (which was sometime attached to it and which opened by an inner door,) where the more valuable parts of the furniture or clothing or produce of the farm were reposited, and whither the master or mistress of the family usually retired to receive their particular guests, or if pious, for purposes of secret devotion. In the former the common fireplace, where the victuals were cooked, and around which the family usually sat to enjoy their domestic chat, was situated. In later times this has been fitted up by an iron grate not seldom kept, in part, polished and bright, and occasionally, though but rarely, fitted with an oven. But in earlier times it was considerably large & roomy, affording seats for some of the family around it, and overhung by a large open vent or chimney for the smoke. But as this, owing to the size of the aperture and the want of suction escaped very imperfectly, and was often thrown back in volumes, while the fuel consisted greatly of peats or dryed turf, or roots of trees, or brushwood, the roof of the apartment formed frequently of boughs roughly hewn laid across the heads of the walls to unite the couples which supported the roof together with some upright spars attached to them perpendicularly, and with their wattlings of small branches, rudely polished with the axe or chisel, were soon blackened all over and at length made to shine with a crust more or less thick, as if they had been japanned. Not seldom the space thus formed by the cross-beams and floored in similar style by brushwood laid closely together, and sometimes covered by what were called *divots*, or considerable cuts of dryed surface of moss or grass, was used as a ' cranny ' or keep for stowing away articles which were not in immediate use, or even for a bedchamber to which the inmates resorted at night by a ladder and a wicket door. The ordinary beds however were situated below, consisting of wooden cabins with their backs turned to the thorough-

fare already mentioned, enclosed by smooth deals with sliding doors of the same material and constructed with somewhat of the neatness of a cabinet. The furniture of this apartment was equally simple, consisting of a dresser, having a level board on which the victuals were chiefly prepared, and a perpendicular framework of shelves adorned not unfrequently with thrifty care by a bright array of pewter trenchers, or potters' bowls & plates, knives & forks, which it was the pride of the housewife to keep clean and shining. To this was added frequently a form, or a few chairs, a considerable barrel always trimmed and white, not seldom a chest of large size, perhaps a looking-glass hung round with a few simple ornaments, perhaps *peacock's feathers*, a small stool or two, a *buffit-stool* (the prince of stools for height and length) from which frequently the family, especially the labouring part of it, took their morning and evening refreshment, and a table of more or less massiveness and dimensions, and constructed usually of common wood, around which the master and mistress, along with a select portion of the household assembled, especially on particular occasions, to take their meals. Here also usually stood the eight-day clock for announcing the hours of the day, and ordering the affairs of the family, if such an article was possessed by them, which at that period was seldom the case even in houses of a somewhat better description. The floor of this apartment was often earthen alone, sometimes it consisted of a compost of clay, smithy-ashes & lime, beat together and well smoothed, rarely & in after times occasionally of bricks, but more frequently of flat slaty stones as extracted from the quarry and laid loosely together; and now and then as improvement advanced of freestone slabs carefully hewn and fitted to each other. Yet rude, encumbered and uninviting as this apartment might seem, it was often the scene, not only of much domestic thrift, but when the chimney was trimmed, the hearth-stone well swept, and the furniture duly arranged, of much cheerful chat among elderly neighbours who, seated round the fire, bandied the simple

yet shrewd joke, retailed the gossip of the district, discussed political or religious questions, and clubbed their information about rural affairs and markets &c. &c., while the children behind amused themselves by playing at blind man's buff, '*hide and seek*,' or other active and innocent games. The outer door, which was usually constructed of boards rough or polished, was closed and kept shut usually by a latchet of wood moved by a string passing through a small hole in the door, or by a little bar of iron which was lifted and let fall by an iron peg, constructed for the same purpose, and accommodated by a round smooth head upon which the thumb might rest in moving this simple machinery. Beside this there was frequently hardly any fastening, for housebreaking was exceedingly rare in these times. Still in the Castles, called in the language of the country sometimes Keeps and Strengths, and occasionally though very rarely in the better class of houses, and which it was necessary in disorderly times, or in solitary situations, to secure with more than common care, there was a bar of wood generally about three inches square, which was fitted to be received into grooves or notches and which being pulled across the whole door, and secured at either end in the wall, rendered the gateway almost impregnable by external art or violence. With regard to a Visee or Ruckle mentioned in 'Chambers' Tales of the Canongate,' as belonging to old houses, I do not remember to have seen any of them in this part of the country, except perhaps in the door of an old and decayed Castle, and with regard to the *visee* in common doors the only one used was when a curious inmate of a family might look through a crevice of the wood or perhaps a keyhole to see what stranger was coming, or who stood at the door and gave signal of a wish for admittance. At this period I do not remember to have seen a knocker at any door, far less a bell, and the only methods employed to arouse the inmates and obtain access were to move noisily a handle of iron which might be attached to the door, or to rap with the knuckle of the hand, or knock with a staff. Thefts without, as

well as within the dwelling were then almost altogether unknown ; and articles, even somewhat valuable articles, were left out of doors all night, or clothes on washing greens at times considerably remote from the dwelling house, with perfect safety without watchmen, and without apprehension. The inhabitants within also slept secure either with a slight fastening of the outer door, or altogether without lock or bar ; occasionally, especially in after times, when wealth was increased and additional comfort sought, and houses, especially the houses of proprietors, began to be raised to two storeys, a room was constructed over the lower apartment above mentioned, with a wooden floor, a chest of drawers, and a posted bed of very plain materials and fabric, which was considered as the chief apartment of the family, and therefore better furnished, but almost never employed except as a bedchamber for extraordinary visitants. At this remote period (60 years ago) there were few carpets in this district even upon the floors of such apartments, and these of coarser manufacture. Here also, in later times, was a chimney with fire irons and fender, kept clean and well scoured, but seldom used. A considerable looking-glass placed on the drawers or hung above the chimney completed the elegant furniture of the apartment, with a scanty allotment of chairs, headed by one soft and covered with cloth, placed by the side of the chimney, which was emphatically called the *easy chair*. In summer time a posy of flowers or sweet smelling shrubs were sometimes employed to perfume the chamber and close up the chimney ornamentally. This apartment thus arrayed in the best manner the family could afford, was the usual guest-chamber assigned to persons of the first consideration who might visit the family and remain with them overnight. Yet the bedding, like the rest of the furniture and all the family arrangements, were in a plain & homely rather than of a fine & sumptuous character. The luxury of a down bed, was I believe unknown ; and the softness of a feather bed was comparatively seldom enjoyed ; except in the wealthier and genteeler houses.

Even the Lairds themselves generally accustomed to hard toil & coarse fare did not indulge themselves in such luxuries. Of mattresses there were none :—the rest of the family slept either upon straw smoothly spread out with a sheet above it, upon the boards which generally formed the bottom of the bed, or upon a large tick bag filled like the accompanying bolsters with chaff. The blankets were of home or Scottish manufacture, spun in the house & woven in the country (not of English fabric) ; and the whole was overlaid with a coverlet either of the same domestic manufacture, sufficiently heavy, sometimes greasy enough, and from the oil employed less pleasant to the smell,—or of patch-work, with suitable lining, cut and sewed by the thrifty housewife aided by her young friends, or by a skilful woman hired for the purpose.

DRESS

The personal attire of both sexes partook of the same general character. The linen commonly worn, and especially by the lower classes of society, called generally *harn*, was made of tow, the coarser part of the flax thrown off when it had been passed through the hackle, spun & imperfectly bleached at home. It was fitted to stand wear, and suited an earlier stage of society when even entire cleanliness was not studied, much less elegance. This formed the inner garb of both sexes, unless when flannel was employed, (also country made & called plaiding.) Fine linen from the Continent usually and appropriately called ' holland,' brought over either by trading vessels, or it may be sometimes by smugglers, was occasionally though very rarely used ; and lace, even fine lace from the low countries was sometimes employed to adorn the dresses of the ladies, or even to edge the hand ruffles of the gentlemen. By the former, silks, even brocaded silks, introduced probably through the same channels, and brought from the same quarters, especially on gala occasions, particularly at marriage festivals, were worn, and with the stiff and high head dresses used by the elder

ladies, probably after the manner of the French court, especially when they covered toupees and curls smoothed with pomatum and decked with hair powder looked sufficiently fantastic, & seemed not only splendid but gorgeous. And when the hoops and fans came into fashion, the person appeared majestic ; to an eye which took in only the great, might seem august & splendid. The usual raiment of females, however, was sufficiently plain and might be represented rather as strong and servieeable than fine. It consisted of home made linen and of a fabric called drugget, woollen cloth woven in the neighbourhood and generally consisting of stripes of different colours, which were if not tastefully yet showily arranged. Of the latter a short gown fitted closely to the bust or upper part of the body and commonly called a '*jupp*,' adapted for domestic wear & common toil, was generally worn by the younger daughters or servant maids of the family—the mother or mistress herself being usually attired in a long gown made either of the latter fabric, or in subsequent times of printed cloth, linen or cotton cloth.

The boys of the family were habited in a loose attire commonly blue, fitted closely to the upper part of the body, accommodated with sleeves, and hung open & loose below, like a long kilt of the Gael, or a Roman tunic. The grown up males of the family, the father, or sons, and servants, were dressed in a jerkin or coat usually shortened in the skirts, consisting of home spun woollen, woven by one designated a customer weaver, & dyed, and otherwise prepared for use, by a fuller in the district, who commonly held what was called a ' waulk mill.' And it may be remarked in passing that as colour employed was almost always blue and as the northern parts of Ireland had been from the beginning enlightened chiefly by ministers of the gospel, who fled thither from that portion of Ayrshire called Carrick to avoid the effects of cruel & bloody persecutions especially under the sway of the Stuarts, and were habited in the finer and better portion of this kind of cloth, which was at once firm in texture, plain in aspect, and durable in wear—hence the designation of *true blue*

presbyterian given to this class of the servants of God, and transferred, in consequence of *colloquial use there to our country and language* to express whatever in religion is simple and determined in character, plain in manner, & stable in principle. The collar of the shirt was frequently left open, or only buttoned, and if anything was passed above it, and around the neck of the wearer, it was often a shred of cloth carelessly folded, & loosely tied ; for a napkin was by no means often used by countrymen, or closely knotted, this adornment being reserved for a market dress, for Sabbath's attire, or for some extraordinary occasion. At home, the head was usually left altogether uncovered, especially when the person was within doors, but the females, particularly if elderly, always wore what was called a *mutch* or close cap, made of coarse linen or flannel ; while if young their hair was either suffered to hang loose or was bound up in different fashions, while still the head remained without covering. The men when in the house or in the field or out houses at work, when in vigorous life, had also frequently nothing on the head, but in after life often wore in either situation a woollen cap commonly afterwards called a *Kilmarnock coul*, and when they went to Church, or Market, or Funeral put on a broad blue bonnet prepared generally in the same place, and though inconvenient enough amid blast, and not fitted to sit easily upon the head, yet calculated to keep it warm, and to protect the shoulders in part from rain, and the face from sunshine. At the extreme period to which I am referring hats of English fabric were, though not altogether unknown, used wholly by the upper and wealthier classes of society. Of course as the reader will remark these reminiscences in this as in other things are limited to the district of which I profess to treat, and do not extend to the Highlands, except these be specified in the statement. At the extreme period to which our remarks refer boys usually went bare-headed or wore light or loose bonnets, perhaps in some rare instances a hat of slighter texture and comparatively cheap in price, was used by this one or that one in going to church : on week days they

would have been felt by the wearer inconvenient, and deemed by the parent expensive. As stocking frames were at this time either not invented in England, or had not come into use in this part of the country, and cotton mills were unknown, the hose used were always woven upon wires at home, as well as of thick & durable texture, and if coloured were frequently even dyed there. No silk stockings, and if I recollect aright, no cotton stockings were used : all the difference lay in the fashion & figure of the fabric, or in the brightness of the dye, or in the whiteness of the colour. The shoes were also of materials and texture plain and strong ; the leather, even of the upper parts, was thick, tanned, I believe, sometimes at home, very imperfectly curried, or coloured, or smoothed, & not unfrequently considerably rough & brown in its exterior appearance, even in the former case. Artificial shoe-blacking was unknown, except a little human spittle, and soot swept from the bottom of a pot might be so called. English calf when used, was reserved for what was accounted genteel or sabbath day's wear :—boots were reserved for riding, and were never used on other occasions except perhaps by smugglers, or butchers, or cadgers. About this time or a little after, buckles made of brass, sometimes of silver, were occasionally used, but the general means of fastening were, as of old time, thongs or latchets usually of leather. But shoes were not always worn. Boys, especially in summer, loved to go barefooted to School, housemaids did the same at home, and females, especially younger females, not even of the lower class, as well as thrifty house-wives, especially in earlier years, bearing their shoes and stockings, might be seen hieing away sturdily and alertly to the '*neebour toon*' on fair days or sacrament days, and at the close of the trip washing their feet, and putting them on ere they went to the place of meeting. Umbrellas had not been introduced. Females were protected from cold and rain by cloaks which hung loose around the body, but were provided with a close hood which fitted the head. These cloaks were composed of a variety of materials generally of what

was called duffel, at that time solely of English manufacture, as I imagine, and is now well known, but the principal cloak, & that which was the pride of the housewife, and used chiefly in her special outgoings to Church, or Market, or particular meeting with friends, consisted of one that was red, often lustrous in its dye, a fine woollen fabric, high in price, durable in wear, and imported from the Continent, as I apprehend, and probably from its connection with the sacerdotal order called a cardinal. The men were defended against cold and rain by plaids, of thick woollen, and home manufacture, at present variously checked and figured, but at that time very plain in its texture, which, when not used for protection as above, was folded together and hung over one shoulder, and loosely knotted under the other arm ; but when used for such protection was thrown loosely round the body so as to cover the whole person and occasionally to wrap it closely. When undertaking a journey on horseback, the rider employed a great-coat, of very dense texture, of blue or drab colour, either closely buttoned around the body, or fitted with a loose and round skirt, which was thrown over the knees, and any baggage he might carry behind or before. It is not to be supposed, however, that these garments of either class, particularly the latter, were very skilfully made, or accurately fitted to the body. The reverse was in truth the fact, and clothes were often sadly mis-shapen. This was the case particularly with the lower garments, especially as they were made by a country, or at most a village tailor, and there were no suspenders in these early times. A similar remark with regard to the shoes and boots might be made, indeed as we shall afterwards have occasion to remark, as may be well supposed, from the very imperfect application of the principle of the division of labour, the craftsmen were far from being expert in the practice of their several vocations, & this even though the apprenticeship was long, (most frequently seven years,) and often laborious, each had generally the work of the sister arts to execute, and according to the common proverb the ' Jack of all trades

was complete master of none.' The house carpenter was the cabinet maker, as well as the undertaker, and the plough wright was almost always the cart maker, while, the forger of horse shoes was the blacksmith, and the general blacksmith the edgetool maker. In the same manner the boot maker was almost always the shoemaker, and the tailor, not only cut out, and sewed the cloth for gentlemen's wear, but acted occasionally also as habit maker for ladies, as well as mantuamaker for females, and clothier for children. The latter artisan also seldom or never wrought at home, but went out to country houses for the purposes of his calling, whither he was accompanied by his apprentice carrying the goose & the smoothing board, where he was furnished with the cloth, often with the thread, was dieted & lodged; and whence, if the distance was not too great, he returned, with the same array, to his own house at night; if the work was more than he could accomplish in one day he remained in the house of the employer till it was finished. The same in some cases I believe might be said of the shoemaker or brogue-maker, particularly of the carpenter, as was certainly the case in the Highlands.

FARM BUILDINGS

We may add, that the house, if of one storey, or occupied by the lower class of tenants, was usually covered in with thatch, very neatly put on & trimmed, as well as carefully fixed down with straw ropes to resist the storms, by a vocational man called a thatcher whose business it was thus to clothe and adorn the humble tenement. If of two storeys it was often covered with slates, nailed or pinned upon boards, or rafters closely set, and the joinings sometimes closed & cemented with lime. The outer houses were comparatively few, & often rudely enough constructed, even those adjoining the residences of proprietors; and consisted generally of a barn, of a cart shed, and in most districts of a peat or turf house, which was also the lumber place of the family where they stowed away cumbrous

articles, or those which were not in daily use. Behind all, was the stackyard, which was generally not large, and defended by a slight circumvallation of hedge, or dyke, or ditch, or rough railing as it might be. The stacks were very inartificially built, and often very rudely or imperfectly thatched, with straw, or rushes, even hastily covered, sometimes with brushwood, or when very small, & the rain overtook the husbandman, with blankets. Occasionally also, as the climate was moist, and the sheaves not unfrequently put up when damp, the fabric was built hollow, and now and then upon branches of trees, or upon a platform rudely constructed. For the same reason the beans & peas were raised aloft upon some tree having several spreading branches, especially in a detached or high situation, and the heap shewed at a distance often like a large nest.

AGRICULTURE

In various districts of the province, & at a period considerably later, large spaces of the County were frequently thrown into large farms, rented by one opulent tenant, but at this period the land was subdivided into small possessions, held by one person, and there were even few, or no cottars, on what was called the same holding or little farm. Those who held the grounds, which usually extended from thirty to fifty acres, in their own right, were technically Lairds, (to whom we have already adverted,) and commonly cultivated the soil with their own hands, assisted by their own family, or by a servant or servants hired for the purpose. They had probably been, many of them at least, tenants of the Clergy, belonging to the Abbey of Kilwinning, and held their lands as, I believe, such tenants usually did, by a small feu, at a light rent, or upon condition of furnishing certain number of fowls, or other articles of domestic consumption to their ecclesiastical landlords. I am not aware that the idea of military tenure or service, though not deemed incongruous in other countries, particularly in Germany, with Leases from religious houses, was in this district, frequently, if at all,

aeted upon. As far as I can recolleet, though farm houscs were sometimes clustered together, yet cach onc of the group had its distinct portion of lands set aside for separate cultivation, and there were in this quarter no conjunct tenants, like hamlets in other parts held & farmed in common, nor had the chief town of this district, being only a borough of Barony, & not a royal one, any lands belonging to the community, which might be pastured, or tilled and sown by thc whole inhabitants in common, or by an understood arrangement, and as assigned by lot. The implements and modes of culture were comparatively few, as well as inartificial & cumbrous. The ploughs & harrows were very heavy, there were no utensils for drill husbandry, or for smoothing the lands, the hoe was little used, the spadcs were very heavy, and except in plucking the thistles from amid the corn, which was done by what was called '*clips*,' a sort of crooked scissors of wood serrated at the point, so long in its handles as to allow thc persons to rid the field of the nuisance with little or no stooping, all other weeds on thc ridges being generally left unmolested. The caparison for the horses was rude and ineonvenient, not seldom fabrieated, in part at least, by the farmer himself, or his servant, not always made of leather, but oceasionally of ropes of tow or cven sometimes of straw when the tear and wear of the work was not great. The crops raised were few, consisting of grain, or of flax, seldom of elovcr, or of artificial grasses, never at that period of wheat or field turnips nor vetches for feeding cattle.

The domestic animals eonsisted, besides the faithful collie or house dog & cat, almost altogether of the common dung-hill fowls, with rarely now and thcn a variety of them, still more rarely of a foreign specimen of the same genus, somewhat less seldom of the turkey coek & hen, often of the house pigeon & the goose, and most frequently of the duek, and now and then of a single sow with perhaps her litter, not often fed in the crib, but at times with the ring in the nose let forth to find food where she might, for herself & her pigs, (notwithstanding the eireumseribing

effect of this very inconvenient and almost cruel impediment.) The larger cattle, destined chiefly to browse in the field for milk, to till & dress the ground, or to carry the master to markets & funerals, but sometimes seen ranging loose, in the open area before the house, were a horse or two, perhaps a mare with her foal; one cow or more with it might be, although very rarely a single sheep or lamb, a faithful attendant in the enclosure, and usually, a great favourite with the children, and allowed as her special privilege to frequent the dwelling, & to feed from the hand, almost at the family board, to enter the inmost circle of the household and to recline, without hindrance or molestation on the common hearth. The rotation of crops was very circumscribed & simple, regarding rather the seasons of the year together with the permanent quality of the soil, than the general improvement of the lands, and consisting rather of an entire rest of each portion in succession than of a change of culture amid its sub-divisions. Their method of ploughing was deep, of course clumsy, & toilsome. The harrowing was roughly executed, the ridges were not straight or smooth, but often irregular & crooked, generally leaving considerable intermediate patches which required to be dug up by the spade, or left shaggy and unbroken, to be pastured by the cows after harvest, or before that shorn by the hook for their use. There were, as far as I recollect, no potatoes planted except in the gardens, none certainly to any great breadth in the fields, or in the drills cast up by the plough. Draining was little practiced, none or almost none in subsoil cuts, or except by ditches, or by scars across the ridges, or by wide & open drains or by large & covered water ways. Of the application of chemical principles to the cultivation of different soils, they had no knowledge whatever. Their composts were very simple, formed of the mixture of moss, or of the rincing of ditches, or of common earth. Their surface dressing consisted of a layer of lime usually burned upon the land when the materials were adjacent. Their manure was extracted from the common dung-hill of the farm-steading which

was usually heaped up in the centre of the offices, or drawn from the refuse of the villages around & carted to the farm, or if they lived near the sea, from the garbage & weeds thrown up by the surf upon the shore. Of course the crops were both very scanty as well as of inferior quality. They reared flax for home consumption—pulled it up at the time, bundled it into sheaves & carrying it to some neighbouring pond or pool of water, pressed it down with stones beneath the surface the requisite length of time that it might be *macerated*; and afterwards taking it up & drying it, conveyed it to some Lintmill, that the flax might be separated from the stalk, and after being cleansed by the process of successive hecklings spun into thread, transferred to the customary weaver, formed into cloth more or less coarse & in the end applied to various uses, for behoof of the family, shirting, sheeting, napery, bagging &c. &c. There were at that time no threshing mills, the grain was slowly and laboriously beat out by the flail, and while the corn was thrown into a heap on the barn floor to be afterwards sifted & cleansed by the wind that passed over the half doors of this temporary granary, that, when leisure was afforded, it might be transferred to the mill to be ground into meal, & then carried to the public market for the private customer; the straw was *bottled up*, and laid aside to be served out to the cattle as they might require, the chaff being usually employed in stuffing bedding or pillows. But the chief dependence of the farmer in these quarters, for paying his rent, or for increasing his wealth, was upon the produce of the dairy, significantly called his '*milkness*.' As the herbage in this province was soft nutritious & juicy, the produce of which we have just spoken was in great request, not only on the spot, but in distant parts of the country. It soon then acquired celebrity, the price of the articles rose, and a competition necessarily ensued amongst the families of the farmers, who should make the most & the best of their local advantages. Who has not heard accordingly of Dunlop cheese, of its peculiar value, its richness & its sweetness—at first exclusively the production of

fields & vales, and rising grounds, in the immediate neighbourhood of a village of that name, but afterwards also, as usually happens, of a much more extended district including a great part of Cunningham. The excellent quality and the high price of this & its kindred articles soon produced effects which might have been foreseen, but could hardly be hailed with joy by all the inhabitants of the district young and old. The milk, the cheese, the cream, the butter were reserved by the thrifty housewife from the family with jealous care, that they might be converted into cash—even the butter milk, & the whey, were sent to market, and as for a taste of the curds, this was placed under the most rigorous interdict. In vain did the younglings at times look with greedy eyes or watering mouth to the large vessel in which it was placed, or implore a little of its sweet & desirable contents :—all was peremptorily prohibited,—the law was absolute & universal. The milk was carefully skimmed that the butter might be more abundant, the return in cash larger, & more boastful. Even the master and mistress of the family shared very scantily of these delicious viands with which they were daily versant, which they were continually sending or selling to others, & would, as they knew, be to them a luscious & even luxurious banquet. As has happened in other cases they starved so far in the midst of plenty, & the domestics were chagrined by the sight of comforts reserved for others, which they might not taste :—like Tantalus they saw beautiful & most enticing fruit within their view, even bobbing and sparkling beneath their eye and seeming to solicit their participation, but were restrained from the use of these good things, & felt that they were prohibited by a rigid law of the household from sweetly sharing.

EDUCATION

In these remote times, as may be well inferred, from what has been already stated, *education* was exceedingly inferior. In truth it was very circumscribed in its range,

imperfect in its means, and rude, or at least unskilful in its process. Reading alone was taught to all, writing only to a considerable portion of the scholars, arithmetic to a few, Latin to a select portion, Greek seldom to any, and that very scantily, and mathematics, algebra, geometry, geography, history as distinct branches to none. Even reading was taught very inartificially, as well as imperfectly, and as school books were comparatively few, under great disadvantages. The teachers, although there were honourable exceptions, were, as might be well supposed, not seldom incompetent to such instructions in all their variety, and as each school embraced the whole system, the classes might be numerous, the branches to be taught at the same time various, while the system of monitors was not yet introduced; the scholars, full of health & spirits, especially those who were not under the immediate eye of the master, indulged too much in idleness; and in passing the seminary, far from the silence which now generally reigns, a person could not but remark, that it was the scene of much gabble, noisy and apparently uproarious. With respect to reading in particular, the usual manuals employed, probably because they were cheap & portable, were (though ill adapted for the object) the shorter catechism & the Book of Proverbs as an extract from the Bible, printed separately from the rest of the scriptures. The letters were taught by their names, not by their sounds. There were no initiatory books to facilitate, as well as perfect the process, for the Graham's Angus's and the Knight's and Fulton's [1] had not then arisen, the powers of the long & short vowels were greatly overlooked, as well as the accentuation of syllable, the punctuation of clauses & sentences, the emphasis of words, the appropriate tones suited to the different species

[1] George Frederick Graham was the author of *First Steps to Latin Writing* (London, 1836); *English, or the Art of Composition* (London, 1842), and other school-books. William Angus, M.A., Glasgow, was the author of *A New System of English Grammar* (Glasgow, 1812); *An English Spelling and Pronouncing Vocabulary* (Glasgow, 1814), etc. George Knight and George Fulton collaborated in the production of *A General Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary of the English Language* (Edinburgh, 1802).

of style, & sentiment, in short, the whole art of fine writing & public speaking. Of this class, as far as I recollect, there was only one book in these times, consisting of a collection of pieces in prose and verse, & in reading, it was held sufficient that the scholar should just know his word, raise his voice to a pitch sufficiently high, and adopt the tone of the school, which was often sufficiently monotonous as well as provincial, for there were no Knowles's [1] in these days. The etymology of words, the history of events, the manners and customs of nations, the position of countries and cities, the biography & character of distinguished individuals, except those notices of them which might be contained in the work read, the discoveries of art and science, the simplest laws of astronomy, the principles of morality, the truth of scripture doctrines, & the pre-eminent importance of a life of piety were not at all, or almost never mentioned, far less illustrated. There was no draft board, no maps, no globes, & no school library in these early and simple institutions. Amply satisfied with having run his time and accomplished his laborious and irksome task in other things, the master unless a man of piety, taste and science himself, seldom adverted to these or explained them. To teach the art of composition; to note & unfold the beauties & elegancies of particular passages in the books read, were out of the question, or perhaps beyond the range of his competence, at any rate thought to be no part of his duty, and in almost all cases, could not be overtaken on account of numerous classes to be superintended and examined, in a parochial or other school which embraced a system of general education. Indeed the teacher himself was perhaps no Cicero; and as he did not exhibit the model, he could not be supposed to teach the rules of true elegance, or train his disciples to be orators.

To all this, however, I cannot but subjoin a testimony in favour of my own Latin teacher, Mr David Allison, parochial schoolmaster of Beith. He had been in a great

[1] James Knowles was the author of *Orthoepy and Elocution* (Glasgow, 1829).

measure self taught, had never enjoyed the benefit of a collegiate education, & had struggled successfully with considerable difficulties in the course of his vocation. But he possessed energy, enterprise and enthusiasm in no common degree, & from the humble teacher of a small school in a rural district, rose to the first eminence in his profession. For after being translated to the Gorbals of Glasgow, he was chosen to be one of the Grammar School teachers of that city, became a great favourite with the public, as well as with the Professors of the University, and held at one time the most numerous class that I believe was ever convened at that Seminary under one master, amounting to about two hundred. He was a man of dignified manners, of good taste, & of very considerable acquirements in other arts, as well as in that of teaching. He manifested particular interest in his scholars, and though inclined to severity of discipline was respected or beloved by them all. In short his morals were unexceptionable, his porte was gentlemanly, & without servility or flattery—he had the happy art of ingratiating himself with those with whom he conversed; and after a life of considerable length & of more than ordinary usefulness, he died in high estimation with the public, and regretted by a numerous circle of pupils & friends.

I may add that there was no popular scientific institution in that district, or indeed in any of the rural portions of our country at that time, nor for many years afterwards. Occasional & systematic lectures for teaching the principles of science, or exhibiting and explaining the more ingenious productions of art, copied from the Andersonian University of Glasgow,—now so common,—so well attended in our considerable towns, & so useful in enlightening the public mind,—were then altogether unknown.

At this time there were no local missionary societies, and no Sabbath Schools, nor congregational classes for the instruction of the young in the elementary or higher parts of religious knowledge. In parish schools, indeed, & in some other seminaries, the 'Assembly's Shorter Catechism' was taught and perhaps now & then another

of a simple & primary kind ; but the master very generally contented himself with hearing the first repeated accurately, and did not take time, or perhaps see it necessary to explain its technical phraseology, which, though then better understood than now, was yet technical, & even at that period required elucidation. Almost the whole process of religious instruction was referred to the domestic circle. And verily in general it was not neglected. Parents, especially pious parents, after retiring from the services of the Sanctuary addressed themselves sedulously to this sacred and very interesting employment. At the head of their families, encircling the common hearth they spent much of their time on the evening of the Sabbath, in hearing the Catechism rehearsed, in calling to remembrance the discourses which had been delivered, in reciting the chief parts of the illustrations, in making remarks upon them, & in general in instructing their households in divine things. It was a hallowed scene, the head of the family appeared in a most dignified position ; was at his proper, & except when guiding their devotions, at his best & highest employment. Nor can there be a doubt that such exercises contributed greatly to enlighten our Scottish peasantry, to form the character of the children, to strengthen & hallow their domestic affections & associations, to guide their future convictions and conduct, and in short, by the blessing and grace of God, told happily, in many instances at least, upon their eternal lot.

CLASSIFICATION OF SOCIETY

With regard to this little requires to be said. In that district, as far as rural, the population consisted of the same component parts as in other quarters of the country at the time, of masters & servants, of lairds and their tenants, of single farmers occupying a circumscribed portion of ground. Farm houses were occasionally clustered together, but there were no large farms, as far as I recollect, held in common by different tenants. There were also

few or no cottars, properly so called, although sometimes a craftsman, say a smith, carpenter, or cartwright, might as a subtenant or feuar hold a considerably large yard, perhaps a field or two. In the town, which might contain nine hundred or a thousand souls, there were comparatively few tradesmen and merchants or even artisans. It was pleasantly, and even when seen from the heights to the north west, imposingly situated on the slope of a rising ground, which was shaped by nature into somewhat of the form of a crescent & overlooked a spacious lake, occupying the bottom of the valley, & it consisted of various streets, some of them narrow indeed and irregular, none of them elegant, but all of them well paved with blue granite, or the debris of rock in the neighbourhood. In the whole town at this period, as far as I can recollect, there was no mantuamaker or milliner, and no watch or clock-maker; there were but two clothiers, who also acted as haberdashers & linen drapers, as hosiers, & hat merchants, and one of these if I recollect right, also sold flax seed, with hooks and scythes. There was only one baker, who prepared his batch but once a week, one butcher, who supplied meat but occasionally, & that in no great variety, seldom slaughtering a fatted cow or calf, & almost never an ox, contenting himself with killing & exposing somewhat frequently a sheep, or an unfed calf, newly dropped from its mother, & vulgarly called, *slink veal*. There was no stationary fishmonger, although persons carrying herrings upon horses in creels, commonly called *cadgers*, from the Coast, sometimes visited the place, & at one season of the year, carts with salmon from Ayr exposed the commodity for sale at a cheap rate. There was only one book-seller in the place, whose store, as the bibliopolic portion was limited, contained also stationery as well as hardware, not only so, but he himself travelled, if I recollect right, once a week, to a town at some distance to open a similar depot at that place. There was, I believe, only one Attorney in the town at that time, and only one person in the neighbourhood who could draw a legal deed, and who on that account was honoured with the title of

'Clerk.' There was besides only one constable in the whole town, one person, who was denominated Bailie of Barony, seemed to be the only Magistrate; an elderly & respectable Surgeon acted as a local judge, but there was no Justice of Peace Court at that time, as all the law business was transacted at Ayr, the chief town of the County, about [twenty-three] miles distant. The town, however, was provided with a drummer, who is somewhat famous in ecclesiastical annals, as a prosecutor of heresy, acting, as it was supposed, under the guidance & at the instigation of the celebrated Dr. Witherspoon, at that time Minister of Beith, and who adopted this method, it may be supposed, either to pour contempt upon the errorist, or to screen himself from the odium which, especially at that time, would have attached to the measure of libelling a neighbouring clergyman, who as the public thought, was sympathised with in his opinions, & would have been supported during the trial, by more than one influential clergyman of the County.[1]

FOOD

The food of the peasantry, & generally speaking of the common classes of society, was plain & uniform; it will now be supposed somewhat coarse, would be revolting to our appetites, & fitted at all times only for strong stomachs. It consisted of what Burns calls 'Scotia's healthfu' porridge'; oatmeal stirred in boiling water to the consistency & appearance of an English pudding, or

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[1] Dr. John Witherspoon was minister of Beith from 1744 to 1757. He afterwards went to America as Principal of Princeton College, New Jersey. He sided with the American rebels, became a member of Congress, and was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He died in 1794. His collected works were published at Edinburgh in 1804-5.

In the account of the Parish of Beith, by the Rev. George Colville, in the *New Statistical Account* (vol. v. p. 587) there is the following note about the drummer: 'In a more humble sphere was James McConnell, drummer in Beith, the redoubted champion of orthodoxy, whom it would be unfair to omit in this report. He was a native of Wigton, where he was born in 1706. Having enlisted into the 43rd Regiment of Foot, he

of the same substance formed into *knots*, called brose—the former constituted the breakfast or supper, the latter the repast hastily prepared, amid work hours, during the day. Not unfrequently the thrifty housewife prepared also another dish for dinner called broth, consisting of water boiled with a deep seasoning of kail or other herbs, occasionally nettles, seldom enriched by butcher meat of any kind, but not unfrequently thickened by barley or groats (a coarser barley) & field beans which formed a strong though not unpalatable mixture—to this might be added with the view of crowning the repast, a slice of cheese eaten either with oaten cakes or with what was called a *mashhin* scone, composed, I believe of barley meal kneaded with the farina of peas or beans raised in the fields. In after times potatoes came into use, and when beat up especially with a little butter or milk were accounted a dish alike nutritious & savoury.

But there were two kinds of meat peculiarly Scotch, I believe, & greatly confined to this district, which we may mention in passing. The first of these was called *float-whey*, the produce of the dairy. In preparing the curd for being converted into cheese, there exuded or was pressed out a thin & pale fluid called whey. This when boiled threw up upon the top a thick & whitish substance, called *float-whey*, which was skimmed off & used for food. The other dish to which we refer, as purely Scottish, was called *sowens*. It consisted of seeds and refuse of oats when ground into meal, which having been mixed with water, was allowed to settle for some days, and become

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was for a considerable period on foreign service. On the return of the regiment the company to which he belonged was quartered in Beith, where James married Jean Love, a native of the place. After obtaining his discharge he returned to Beith and settled as a teacher. He was afterwards made constable, sheriff-officer and town drummer. Having a turn for polemical divinity, he attacked Mr. James Ferguson, minister of Kilwinning, as unsound in his doctrine, and libelled him before the Presbytery of Irvine. The case remained in the Church Courts for some years, and Mr. Ferguson died before it was finally disposed of. The drummer published two pamphlets on this subject, which are now become scarce. They shew some talent and much zeal in the cause.'

somewhat sour, when the thinner parts having been drained off and boiled, yielded a pleasant paste or pudding which formed, especially when taken with milk, an agreeable though not substantial kind of food. Upon the preparation of the latter the thrifty housewife expended no small portion of care and piqued herself upon her success as involving no small proof of this. No ale was brewed at home by the peasant or I believe his landlord, but in the towns skilful housewives with their cauldron & their vat sometimes produced small beer, which was occasionally bought and used especially in the harvest field, as also a little of the *nappy*, or strong ale, which was sold at a high rate, and drunk in what were called public houses, or minor taverns. This last custom has produced, amongst others which may be justly counted reprehensible, some of the most interesting and picturesque odes of the national poet Burns, particularly the admired tale of ' Alloway Kirk ' or ' Tam o' Shanter.'

INTELLIGENCE

All things considered, however, the intelligence of the public, on religious & other subjects, was, and could not but be, comparatively circumscribed. With local news, with the history of the Secession, and with the contendings of our forefathers during the times of persecution in Scotland, no small portion of which had occurred within the bounds of Ayrshire, for within its limits much spoliation and outrage had occurred, some battles had been fought, and not a few murders in cold blood had been perpetrated, by the agents of oppression under what was called emphatically the bloody house of Stuart. Here too the ministry of God's holy Evangel, had, at the imminent risk of their lives, been magnanimously prosecuted by such Christian Heroes as Welsh, Cargill & Peaton [Peden]. Of these men of God interesting anecdotes derived from a comparatively fresh tradition were told, while the prophecies of some of them were recited, & the terrible vengeance of

providence which was represented to have fallen upon the persecutors of the Saints and Servants of God in the district as testified awfully by their dilapidated and haunted mansions or by their impoverished and extinct families, were rehearsed with solemn emphasis around the evening fire, by the old, in the audience of the young, thus creating, or deepening a salutary horror of persecution for conscience sake, as well as strong prepossessions in favour of true religion, of holy courage, and of steadfast suffering for the sake of righteousness & vital godliness. At these times and on these scenes too were occasionally recounted the achievements of Wallace, the Ayrshire hero, and of Robert Bruce, the celebrated prince of the royal house of Scotland ; while sometimes anecdotes were told of the rebellions of 1715 and '45, (the latter of which some of the narrators might have seen,) with the terror which in the latter case the irruption of the Highlanders had occasioned, together with the appearance, the character, the defeat, and the marvellous escape of Charles, who was commonly called the pretender, all tended to fan the flame of patriotism in the young mind, as well as to inspire a just repugnance to insurrection and civil war, especially when aroused and arrayed by obsolete pretentions & hereditary tyranny. Not seldom too, especially those who pretended to be deeply read in mystic lore, or were actuated by pride of understanding, discussed abstruse & knotty questions in Divinity, reasoning high like Milton's Angels of 'Fate' & 'Freewill.' Urged by curiosity of temperament, possessed of considerable leisure, convening from time to time at each other's houses for neighbourly chat, they communicated reciprocally & freely their information about such matters. And there also they discussed questions of politics, of religious controversy, & of rural economy ; though, as the spirit of agricultural improvement had not then arisen, at least in any considerable force or efficiency, the last topic more seldom formed the subject of conversation, or was more feebly and narrowly introduced. The family library, even of opulent and well informed Lairds & Farmers, as books were dear,

was scanty, consisting generally of a big Ha' Bible, of the 'Cloud of Witnesses,' of the 'Confession of Faith,' of Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress' or 'Holy War,' with some of Flavel's Works, especially his 'Husbandry Spiritualised' or Boston's, particularly his 'Fourfold State,' of Rutherford's Letters, perhaps Ralph Erskine, it may be, 'The Act and Testimony of the Original Secession,'—Sermons or Sonnets,—ecclesiastical history connected with the country, perhaps 'Knox's' or 'Calderwood's,'[1] or peradventure 'Satan's invisible world displayed,'[2] containing an account of the arts and agents of magic and witchcraft, the faith of which was universally or almost universally prevalent in the district, and of the fatal consequences of which the neighbouring County, Renfrew, according to the tales of the olden time, had exhibited, I believe, more

[1] The *Cloud of Witnesses*, a collection of biographies of Covenanting worthies, was first published as a small quarto at Edinburgh in 1714, without author's or printer's name. There were many subsequent editions. The authorship is investigated in the edition edited by the Rev. J. H. Thomson, Edinburgh, 1871. The author of *Husbandry Spiritualised*, John Flavel, was an English Presbyterian divine, who was ejected from Dartmouth in 1661 by the Act of Uniformity. He wrote many other works. He died in 1691. *Human Nature in its Fourfold Estate*, by Thomas Boston (1677-1732), minister of Ettrick, was published in 1720 and has been often reprinted. The *Letters* of Samuel Rutherford (d. 1661), minister of Anwoth, and afterwards Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, author of *Lex Rex*, were first published in 1664. There is a standard modern edition, edited by the Rev. Dr. Andrew Bonar (Edinburgh, 1848; third enlarged edition, London, 1894). Ralph Erskine (1685-1782), minister of Dunfermline, was the brother of Ebenezer Erskine, the leader of the Secession, and himself afterwards joined the Associate Presbytery. His *Gospel Sonnets* and other religious poems were very popular, and are among the curiosities of literature. Knox's *History of the Reformation* and David Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland* are standard sources of Scottish Church History. These books were all classics of Evangelical Presbyterianism.

[2] *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*; Or, A Choice Collection of Modern Relations, proving evidently against the *Saducees* and *Atheists* of this present Age, that there are *Devils*, *Spirits*, *Witches*, and *Apparitions*, from Authentick Records, Attestations of Famous Witnesses, and undoubted Verity. To all which is added, The Marvellous History of *Major Weir*, and his Sister: With two Relations of Apparitions at Edinburgh. By Mr. George Sinclair, late Professor of Philosophy, in the Colledge of *Glasgow*. . . . *Edinburgh*, Printed by *John Reid*, 1685.

than one terrible example.[1] It may now seem strange that there was no printing press in all that quarter of the country—none nearer than Glasgow, only one even there, (if you except the celebrated University press, conducted by Messrs Foulis). There were also no Magazines, except perhaps the Edinburgh Magazine, no periodicals, unless it might be the British Critic, and no reports of Societies, now so very frequent, and in some cases so full of interesting information, except those of the 'Society for propagating Christian knowledge in foreign parts,' or of the 'Society for propagating the Gospel in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland,' which were seldom seen or perused in this part of the country. Indeed there were comparatively few Associations for the promotion of public interest, if we may not include Associations for the benefit of the poor which, except those which belong to the different crafts, were very rare, & at any rate did not publish their transactions in a printed form. Although there were several Mason lodges in the district as elsewhere, particularly an ancient and famous one at Kilwinning, yet these contributed nothing to the public illumination, and were more remarkable for light companionship, idle pageantry, and free carousal than for increasing and communicating knowledge, especially as they professedly enveloped themselves in mystery, while their meetings were intentionally secluded from the cognisance of the public and as they dealt in arts at the introduction of members, which it was surmised were, at least, of a very

[1] Renfrewshire had a bad name for witchcraft. A well-known case occurred in 1697, when six persons were condemned to death for the alleged bewitching of Christian Shaw, daughter of the Laird of Bargarran. Five women were executed at Paisley, and one man committed suicide in prison. The authorities are noted in Kirkpatrick Sharpe's *History of Witchcraft in Scotland*. The horrible story is recorded in detail in *A History of the Witches of Renfrewshire who were burned on the Gallow-green of Paisley*. Published by the Editor of the Paisley Repository (Paisley, 1809). In the early days of the Secession the belief in witchcraft was still widely prevalent. In the 'Judicial Testimony' of 1736, among the 'steps of defection' enumerated is the recent repeal of the penal statutes against witches, 'contrary to the express letter of the law of God—"Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live."'

questionable character, which were kept profoundly secret & never suffered to transpire, being sealed with all the solemnity, it is said, of a peculiar oath sanctioned & as far as possible secured by a terrible anathema. There were also comparatively few newspapers. Whether the 'Glasgow Journal' did then (60 years ago) exist, I have at present no means of ascertaining, but I recollect, I think, that I never saw any but the 'Edinburgh Evening Courant' which came to my father's house.[1] Of Geographical Globes, if my memory serves me correctly I never met with one at that time in the district, and of sheet maps now so common, few or none were then seen appended to the walls of houses belonging to persons the most intelligent, far less to those of common schools. And as the extent of navigation was very limited and the seas which intervened betwixt the different regions seldom traversed, the world was almost altogether unknown. America itself was little frequented, and greatly unexplored—India & China with the Eastern Archipelago may be said to have then belonged to 'terra incog.' Australia & Van Diemen's land, with many of the Polynesian Isles, were either not discovered or not colonized, almost nothing was known of the southern & northern, central and eastern parts of Africa:—Arabia & Persia were seldom or never visited:—Greece & Egypt had receded from the view, with the lesser Asia, as well as the eastern and northern parts of that continent with which there was almost no intercourse:—little was known even of Spain, Portugal & Italy, and if you except the shores of the Baltic little of the northern & eastern parts of even our own continent. Although the intercourse with France had been intimate & frequent in early ages, yet the communication during later times had been greatly discontinued, and even of the low countries and Holland which lay more adjacent, and with which a contraband trade was carried on, we had little acquaintance, and that

[1] The *Glasgow Journal* began in 1741. In 1782 it was being printed in the Saltmarket by Peter Tait. The *Edinburgh Evening Courant* dated from 1718.

little furnished chiefly by the smugglers who visited our shores by stealth, and whose communications could not be supposed to be very profound or extensive or accredited. Thus it is evident that the intelligence of our countrymen in this district, & in these early times, whether we regard as appertaining to domestic or to foreign matters, could not but be very scanty and incidental as well as superficial & conjectural.

OPINIONS

Such being the state of public intelligence, so limited as well as inferior in general in the sources of supply, without common schools, furnished with the best kind of apparatus or taught always in the most zealous and approved manner—without any seminary of science of a higher order, without any scientific lectures, with few books and hardly any Public Library, it was not to be expected that the measure of information would be very ample, or on all subjects correct. Yet, while considerable ignorance on many subjects prevailed, extreme and extravagant opinions on the higher topics of human knowledge, or the laws of human practice were seldom, if ever, entertained, or at least avowed. In religion, scriptural & evangelical sentiments were popular—atheistical, infidel, sceptical, Arian and Socinian, and Arminian notions were never, or almost never uttered or supported in private life, although it was said that the three last were sometimes vented from the pulpit. In polities Monarchy was the system very generally, or almost universally approved. Even Republicanism had few abettors—Radicalism might be mooted, but was not favoured by almost any—Chartism and Socialism were unknown. In households, according to the manners of the good old times, especially those professing godliness, & among Seceders who made them terms of fellowship, family worship was observed every day together with Catechetical and Biblical instruction, particularly on the Lord's day, and the omission of these duties, which in later times there is reason to fear has

existed to a mournful extent, were then comparatively rare, and considered as hardly compatible with the existence of personal piety. In morals, sound scriptural principles were universally entertained, & the scepticism or sophistry which would transfer the guilt of crime from the sinner to God was never adopted, or rather abhorred by all, except perhaps professed libertines or openly licentious characters. In short, the domestic arrangements, & the generally entertained, at least avowed, sentiments of the public, as might be expected from the foregoing circumstances, were those of a plain, simple hearted people, untutored by the delusions of a false philosophy or of an unevangelical errorism, but conversant with the scriptures, & in love with the gospel.

AMUSEMENTS

The recreations of those who were of mature age partook of the same simplicity but were not always unexceptionable in character, or so salutary in their tendency and influence. Markets and fairs, which occurred in every considerable village or town on set days every week, or other more distant times during the year, were by no means always well spent. At the latter, frequently called *trysts*, when cattle were bought and sold, servants were hired, friends and acquaintances from remote places of the same parish or of the district saw and greeted each other with homely welcome, & with interchange of relative & local news, while perhaps they possessed themselves from stalls, erected on such occasions by vendors from a distance, of ornaments for their dress, or necessary commodities for their families. But much time was spent idly—spirituous liquors were freely drunk, the dance & the revel were kept up, often to a late hour, and not a little licentiousness or a few quarrels & brawls frequently ensued, as might have been expected. Strange to say not only the market cross, and the wider spaces of the streets, but the churchyard itself was the scene in part of such sale, and of rustic amusement, nor did it seem to be

occupied for such purposes with any repugnance. Articles were sold, & recreations, not always innocent or uninjurious, were prosecuted, (I might almost say perpetrated,) upon the grave stones of the cemetery, and over the remains of deceased friends, fellow-townsmen, & country neighbours. Here games of chance were held, the quarter-staff was thrown at the gingerbread, or the boys played at the *beds*, or at *pitch and toss*—here too also young & strong men exercised themselves in feats of agility and vigour, in leaping or throwing the hammer or the stone &c. amid eager spectators and applauding crowds. The amusements of children in this town and district were, howsoever we account for the fact, almost all extremely similar to those which prevail in other places, even the most remote, and although they may be mentioned, require no explanation. The spinning of the peerie, the lashing of the top, the rolling of the hoop, the flying of the kite, and the skipping of the rope, the agility shewn in the exercise of leap-frog, with the playing at ball, & the pitching of the quoit, took place as if by instinct, each at the appropriate season, as did the game '*shinty*,' in which two parties contended in close encounter which should drive a ball by clubs or bats beyond a certain limit, skating and curling when the thickness of the ice permitted these, and which athletic and healthful exercises were practiced on the adjacent lake. The latter was indeed a joyous scene,—to occupy which the old & the young, the boy and the man of grey hair, persons of both sexes and all classes, turned out with much alacrity and as if with one accord. There were, however, two kinds of amusements greatly local or peculiarly Scottish which we must not fail to note, howsoever briefly. The first of these we shall mention is the game called 'English & Scotch.' It seems to have been borrowed from the Border Wars, and was played by boys alone. Having chosen a suitable field for the exercise, & having arranged themselves in two parallel rows closely fronting each other, with a line marked somehow between them, they set vigorously to work, each laid hold of his opponent

just before him & the object to be gained was by main force to draw him over the line, and thus to take him as it were captive. In the end, and after the struggle had been finished, victory was held & declared to be in favour of that little army of juvenile warriors, who had either brought their antagonists entirely to submit, by crying out '*barley*'; meaning we presume '*parlez*'—that is, a cessation of hostilities, or who had captured the greatest number of their enemies. The other amusement to which we refer had not a military aspect, but was of a social description called technically *rockings meet*, because I imagine it consisted originally of housewives or housemaids who convened on particular occasions perhaps by turns in one another's houses to enjoy a friendly chat, taking along with them their rocks, that is their distaffs or spinning wheels, that they might draw out a thread during the conference. Soon however, as frequently happens it changed its character, its exercises, and the persons of whom it was composed. In later times it consisted entirely of young persons convened for cheerful past-time at a neighbour's house & who spent an evening in a romp, or a dance. Spirituous liquors too were probably soon introduced as well as freely administered & as the parties did not retire till late in the night, or early in the morning to their respective homes each youth with his chosen partner, it may be apprehended, that such assemblages would neither promote the health of the body, nor the interests of pure morality.

TRADES AND OCCUPATIONS

There were no manufactures or arts peculiar to the place, as bonnet making to Stewarton, and carpet weaving to Kilmarnock, but there were two vocations which sprung up about this time in this quarter and deserve to be mentioned in passing. The former of these was silk weaving introduced from Paisley. In this latter town it had begun to be a lucrative as well as elegant branch of manufacture. At the west end of Paisley the house of

Fulton, which arose from small beginnings, was said to be greatly enriched by it, and soon grew to eminence and importance. In extending its business it embraced the country towns and villages considerably remote, and employed workmen and females in all these. Agents or partners connected with firms in London, entered largely into the business, and competed with the establishment in Maxwellton. These persons lived in great affluence, but did not confine the benefit to themselves. The wages given were high, (amounting as I recollect to have heard even to seven shillings a day to a single hand,) a very high rate considering the scarcity of specie, & the relative value of money at that time. Wealth was diffused—the worker lived in easy, even opulent circumstances, a Paisley silk weaver assumed among workmen the appearance of a gentleman, and the inhabitants of the place,—although now lamentably redueed in circumstances and in standing in the community, were, as I well remember, at the period referred to, considered as the most intelligent, and liberal, & religious portion of the Scottish population in these western parts. To the silk the muslin manufacture soon succeeded, and likewise prospered. Mills for spinning cotton yarn, at first on a small scale, but afterwards of larger dimensions, were introduced into this country, & soon became somewhat numerous, being situated in different parts of the district, and driven by horse power or water, and at length by steam. Persons were induced by the high wages to forsake rural or other employments, and betake themselves to various departments of the silk or muslin manufactures. The circumstances of the community improved. New houses were built in a neater form, with more commodious apartments, & furnished in a better manner. The dress of both sexes assumed the appearance of greater refinement. The population, especially in villages, hamlets & towns, increased greatly, and in short the whole aspect of the country bespoke a state of society full of life and industry, of comparative opulence & comfort. Afterwards, but in a far more limited scale, the manufacture of flaxen & bleached thread

was carried on concentrated & flourished in Beith, being pushed forward with great energy by some of its spirited inhabitants, who erected mills or machinery for the purpose, and by its extensive sale in Scotland & in England, as well as in the West Indies and America, acquired considerable fortunes. We have purposely reserved the mention of another occupation for the close of this section of these reminiscences. It was not indeed very honourable, or probably very lucrative in its final results, but it employed not a few, figured much amongst the occupations of the place, and procured for the town a name, if not of celebrity, yet of note—I allude to the employment of smuggling. This was carried on in various forms. It consisted, first of all, of the inland transport of contraband goods brought in fleet vessels from foreign parts, particularly from Holland, Belgium, the coast of France, & landed by stealth on the coast of Ayrshire, especially around Troon, composed of Kegs of brandy, of packages of tobacco, and of boxes or bags of tea. They were run ashore in light boats, & by the help of countrymen with their carts carried to places of safety in the neighbourhood, or hid in the sandhills with which that coast abounds. The men of Beith were particularly busy in this illicit traffic, & disposed of the materials thus secured throughout the country. For this purpose availing themselves of their knowledge of bye, & unfrequented roads, passing through a heathy & uninhabited track, which lay betwixt their town and the shore, they carried them home, or to the neighbourhood upon horseback or in carts. The enterprise was sufficiently daring and desperate, for the excise officers being aware of their route and haunts, armed with the authority of Government, furnished with military accoutrements, and sure of a rich reward by obtaining a considerable share of the seizure, were well disposed at all hazards, to intercept & to spoil them. But the latter were comparatively few and durst not hazard the assault, or were out manoeuvred. For the smugglers generally banded in considerable bodies, & mounted upon swift horses, armed with heavy cudgels, travelling by night, or

in the very early dawn, and generally following an expert and daring leader, most frequently eluded or repulsed those who sought to arrest their career, and arrived at the places of their destination in safety. I myself have seen considerable gangs of horsemen either galloping along as if in triumph to the town, or unloading their steeds & their carts to deposit their goods in a neighbouring barn, till they found a more safe and convenient time for conveying them home. Illicit distillation was also extensively carried on in the town or country parts, and it was surmised, connived at, in consequence of the quietus of a fine to the 'gauger'; indeed, such is the deceitfulness of sin and such the possibility of enervating the authority and biasing the just & equitable decision of conscience even in the best in certain cases, that while few at present, I believe, will vindicate such practiees or engage in them, the general community at that time considered them rather as an adroit concealment of what they might justly appropriate, or withholding what the wealth of Government could not fairly claim or might well want, or justifiable reprisals upon the ministry for oppressive taxation, and even good men themselves, as I have known, to accommodate their friends with a better & cheaper article, did not hesitate to purchase & convey such contraband goods in small parcels, particularly tea.

MANNERS & CUSTOMS

It might have been expected that sueh a system generally practised or connived at, and insensibly biasing the eonscienee by delusive views or sophistical arguments, and throwing soeiety out of its calm & proper order into nocturnal '*raids*' and various irregularities, would have an unfavourable effect upon the general spirit and manners of the people. And so it had to a certain extent. For it imparted to the latter a eertain degree of rough bluntness, as well as intemperate indulgence, and to the former a certain measure of sly humour, & adroit management, which, notwithstanding the principles and the temper of

seriousness & of piety neither rare nor superficial in many cases, were perhaps the prominent characteristics of the inhabitants of that part of the country. In illustration of this suggestion, two or three facts and anecdotes may be subjoined. An excessive use of ardent spirits, though not by any means always to intoxication, prevailed. Seldom was any bargain struck, even at a fair, without withdrawing to a public house (or tavern) and calling for a gill of liquor:—warm punch was plentifully handed round in dancing apartments, kept open for the public in such places, & occupied by successive companies at these times: to dinner parties the landlord was not supposed to do his duty, if every one had not *drunk to the full*, while occasionally a certain large quantity was assigned to each guest, and must be drunk by him ere he was suffered to go away:—the time spent after eating was very long. The use of the glass and the tongue was very free, and accordingly, clergymen who regarded their character, were accustomed either not to mingle in such convivial meetings at all, or to withdraw early; indeed it was generally expected they would do so. Even at funerals several glasses of wine or spirituous liquors were handed round to the company in succession, though when sober characters attended none except the first, was usually drunk or even tasted—nor as the liquors, even foreign liquors, were good, plentiful, & comparatively cheap, & as no temperance societies then existed to restrain, as well as to expose excess, and to urge sobriety, by the combined influence of general example and powerful argument, can this consequence though greatly blameable be considered as either unnatural or unexpected. For an instance of sly humour, mingled with some degree of adventure and effrontery, we may subjoin the following little stories.

A laird having bought a neighbouring steading with a considerable dung-hill upon it which had been previously sold, was anxious to secure this heap of manure for enriching his own land which lay adjacent, travelled from twelve to twenty miles to consult a lawyer, who had a

property not far off, that he himself held in his own hands and was improving. Closeted with the latter, under the guise of a stranger; having laid his case before him & received a negative answer in the advice given by whom he consulted, he replied (perceiving that the counsellor was ignorant of him & of the transaetion,) with great naiveté, 'thou's an honest man for it was thine ane servant that bought the dung.' Another illustration:—A man who had smuggled much it was supposed, having upon suspicion, or information been summoned to Ayr, had died & was buried in the interval. Being cited in court, after the usual calling he did not of course appear. Upon this, one of the Justiees on the bench, thinking he saw a Beith man in the meeting, called to him and asking him if he knew what had become of A. K. 'I trow he'll no be here the day' was the reply. 'Howso?' rejoined the justice. 'He's dead' was the response. 'How know ye that?' said the former, perhaps suspecting some subterfuge or tergiversation. 'I ken it fu' weel,—for if he's no dead, I saw them do him a filthy trick the other day, by slapping him in a lang hole and covering him with yerd.' The answer as might be supposed, convulsed the court with laughter, while it manifested the characteristic broad humour of the inhabitants of the district. Though it were only to enliven these somewhat sombre memorabilia, we may add another little anecdote. It relates to the person latterly (first) mentioned. A proprietor not far remote having had his poultry poisoned, naturally wished to detect the culprit. Aceordingly he summoned a number of persons to the justice of peaee court in Beith, and among the rest the humourist above mentioned. The latter attended, and after having sat awhile in court, and seen a number of persons sworn, he called out the prosecutor, and taking him aside, said to him with an air of great interest & seriousness, 'Willie, dost thou take me to be a rogue or an honest man?' 'A decent man to be sure' replied the other. 'If so' rejoined his neighbour, 'I should not have been here the day, but since thou hast given me a character I'll give thee a piece of whole-

some advice, thou'rt no taking the right way, and thou'llt ne'er get at the truth as thou'rt ga'en to wark ; for thou'rt swearing these men by the name of the Great God, now they'll tell lies by the bushel, and take the Almighty in their ane han',—but if thou'llt swear them by the muckle deil, or thine anc sel', thou'llt be sure to get at the fact, fin' out the scoundrel.'

Courtships were carried on and matrimonial engagements contracted in a manner not always prudent or directed by sound discretion, but suitable to that plain and less refined state of society. The suitor or perhaps successive suitors approaching the dwelling of the favoured female by stealth, or under cloud of night, tapped at the window, and she recognising the well known signal slipped out, and held conference with one or all in some retired corner, or sequestered walk. The marriage, after being made known to the near relatives of the parties, and being duly proclaimed in Church, at that time I believe generally for three successive Sabbaths, was celebrated by the minister, accompanied with religious exhortation, as well as a solemn acknowledgment of the wisdom & goodness of God in the institution, and invocation of blessing upon the parties.

The manners of general society and in common life, were, as might be expected from the preceding statements, plain & blunt, even in some respects, rude & indiscreet, nay at times immoral and in some cases impious. There was indeed a deep, & pretty extensive infusion of the principles of religion and sobriety, but swearing and blasphemy were not unfrequently heard, the language of obscenity was sometimes indulged ; and a licentiousness intimately connected with drunkenness was not unknown. Besides the immoderate use of spirituous liquors at fairs, dining parties, and funerals, such excess took place also sometimes it was said by companies collected on occasion of public baptism, especially those from somewhat remote parts of the country. A train, sometimes a considerably long train, of females accompanied the child to Church, and after the dispensation of the ordinance & the dis-

mission of the congregation it was customary at times, as we have heard, for all the attendants to adjourn to a neighbouring public house or tavern. There the jug (or cup as it might be) and the glass circled freely, and made the company occasionally, as Burns would say, 'unco happy.' Besides this when a neighbour called, or a servant came to deliver a message, or hand a present, or a friend was taking leave, or the master of the house was setting out upon a journey, or an artisan had finished a job, or the minister and elder came to visit, the bottle was brought out, and a glass of the *nappy* was presented. Somewhat remains to be noticed about funerals as conducted in these times. The hour was far from being exactly kept, especially in rural districts—the religious services (never omitted) were often very long, and with the time spent in going to & fro, often a considerable distance, & in conveying the body to the Churchyard, as well as seeing it decently interred, the whole day was often consumed in paying this last tribute of humanity and respect to the dead. As the company was often numerous, and varieties of bread as well as of liquors presented, the expenses incurred were oecasionally very considerable, and in some cases more than the survivors could well sustain. When the person to be buried was a favourite farmer or a laird, a large cavalcade of horsemen frequently followed the company who bore the coffin on spokes, or the hearse with nodding plumes, white or black, to indicate that the person was married or unmarried. The interment was simple & soon dispatched. The body was gently let down, the earth was speedily filled up. Amid a haste, sometimes ruthless in an old cemetery, the bones of those who had been previously interred, and in digging the narrow house had been thrown up, were often tossed carelessly into the grave and were heard sounding as they fell upon the newly deposited coffin. The mould, however, with the green sward which had been previously laid aside & preserved, were carefully laid on and smoothed, and perhaps the tombstone which had been removed, replaced—but all was solemn silence around, & no ceremony

was used except that when the funeral strings were dropped upon the coffin, the chief mourner, with the company around 'the grave's devouring mouth,' doffed his hat or bonnet as it might be, with eyes bent upon the coffin, as if to bid a last & solemn adieu to the departed, an action, an attitude which probably was a relic, though unconsciously, of the close of the Roman Service retained even by Protestants, 'vale vale longum vale.' All that had previously occurred was in solemn keeping with the character of the occasion. The mourners were all habited in black; the chest which contained the remains was painted black, or covered with black cloth, and in either case shrouded with a pall. Ere it had been raised to be borne away, & before, as well as after the distribution of the viands, prayers suitable to the occasion had been offered up, and as the mourners afterwards moved slowly and solemnly along the highway and the street, they either observed profound silence, or, though not by any means always, conversed upon suitable topics,—the character of the deceased, the latter end of man, the hopes of the gospel, and the imminent urgency and importance of the concerns of eternity. I know not why, except that tobacco might be in early use, as well as esteemed half a luxury, and pipes could not be easily had by those who resided remote from villages, but one of these was frequently presented to each mourner, and stuck into the band of his hat, or attached to his bonnet as it might be, appeared a conspicuous symbol of the occasion as the company moved along. Besides this, another singular custom prevailed in this part of the country. The short-bread, or the currant bun was cut, the former into cakes, the latter into portions, and one of these, each mourner, if he did not consume it on the spot, as was hardly ever done, was expected to put into his pocket and carry home. Funeral addresses over the grave never, and funeral sermons in church on Sabbath seldom, were delivered at this period, in consequence of the death even of public, excellent, and official men. Nor was it customary in almost any instance to refer very particularly on the

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A PAGE OF DR. MITCHELL'S MANUSCRIPT

latter scene amid divine service to any person recently deceased, far less was it always expected by the relatives that such a one, even if in any degree prominent in a congregation, should be made the subject of special delineation or eulogium.

SPIRIT OF SOCIETY

A lax morality, as we might readily infer to a considerable extent existed, especially in buying and selling cattle, but theftuous practices or open robbery were exceedingly rare, indeed almost altogether unknown. Still selfishness inclining persons to take undue advantage of others, or to urge unjust or cruel claims was not so. The gospel was in general request, and those who preached it were popular and followed by crowds especially on sacramental occasions, but it was said to have been at that period seldom preached in the pulpits of parish churches, or even taught in the divinity schools and universities. Illiberality, even niggardliness, in contributions for the indigent, or for religious purposes, sadly prevailed, & I have heard of a person, (and what was probably by no means singular) who was finely dressed on sabbaths, stepping into a shop on her way to church and exchanging a half penny for two farthings that she might put one of them into the poor's plate. In truth, a worldly spirit, as I have heard one well acquainted with the fact say, was the prevailing sin of the striet & sober professors of religion, even of the undoubtedly pious, in these times. There was also then, as there has always been, a mournful abounding of the sins of incredulity and indifferentism, of unconcern and recklessness in religion. But there was hardly an avowed atheism or deism or libertinism—and whosoever might secretly seorn, no one or almost none openly ridieuled, piety. Hardly any one abstained entirely from going to church. The Sabbath was noiseless and sacred in external observance, a solemn stillness prevailed in the country and in the town, save when broken by the chime of parish bells—no stroke of engine, or sound of tool—of axe and

hammer was heard in all the place, as in the raising of the ancient temple. No rumbling of wheels, or prancing of the hoofs of horses in almost any instance, especially in conveying travellers or others who intended openly to profane the Sabbath, to the country, or to distant places ; nor did the hum of groups or crowds in the open area, or the shut apartment, talking over secular news or transacting worldly business meet and offend the ear and the eye of the pious—nor were there any convivial parties purposely convened in defiance of public decency, on that holy day. Yet there was reason to fear, and indeed it was too obviously seen that this hallowed day was desecrated by not a few habitually or occasionally in various ways, particularly by indulging in extreme lengths of slumber in their beds, by lolling at home, by lounging & talking by the sides of their houses, by frequenting the highways, by sauntering in the fields, by calling upon neighbours & friends, and by otherwise abusing that sacred time of rest and diverting it from its proper purposes.

SECTS AND PARTIES

Sects and parties were comparatively few. Of the latter in politics there were only two, tories & whigs. All too were friends of monarchy, & of the Hanoverian succession in our country. There were no Jacobites in all the parish as far as I know, hardly one republican, and radicals, chartists, or socialists did not then exist, or were not so designated. In religion the sects were also far fewer than now. At the ultimate period to which I refer there were only two or three. There were no unitarians, at least avowed, no independents, no anabaptists, and I believe no Roman Catholics ; all were protestants and all presbyterians of one class or another. The parishioners, however, were divided into the adherents of the established church, the Secession, and the Relief. Perhaps there might be a few members of the Reformed presbytery, but I believe there were no methodists. The

spirit of these times was no doubt tinctured by a considerable infusion of stirring and ardent zeal, which, howsoever sincere and well principled, according to the measure of its intensity, usually produees in some instances wrathfull contention, uncharitable surmisings, & unfriendly, as well as unbrotherly animosities. But in this case these parties lived in peace, if not in intimate amity, with one another. And this arose, I apprehend, in no small degree from the tempers of the two ministers of the place :—my father the Rev^{d} Andrew Mitchell of the Secession, and the Rev^{d} David McLellan of the establishment. They set thc example of such seeming accord ; for without any compromise of principle on either side they co-operated in public matters of common concern, such as the support of the poor, and they and their families interchanged, not only the courtesies of life, but the tokens and kindnesses of friendship. As proofs of this good understanding I have great pleasure in recording the following circumstances. The latter was accustomed on the day of my father's sacrament in Summer to leave his church, the churchyard, and even the tent, to be occupied by my father and his assistants, as a second place of worship on that occasion, when I have seen, if not Mr MeLellan himself, yet members of his family present, as auditors and worshippers. On the occasion of my first leaving my father's house to proceed on a journey to some distance in the Highlands, that I might reside in the house of James Campbell Esquire of Silver Craigs, as tutor to his children, I well remember that I was sent by my father to Mr McLellan's, not only to take leave, but to obtain the benefit of his counsel—and I remember as well, that the advice he gave, was dictated, not by party spirit, but by a regard to my father's feelings and views, as well as of duty and consistency in my own conduct, and subservieney to my future prospects in life. Towards his latter end too I know that my father visited him as a friend, and it behoves me, and perhaps may do some good in abating the unjust suspicions which partisans are apt to entertain toward each other in respect of personal

piety, to state, that the former spoke with much comfort and interest of these visitations, and although he made no secret of his abhorrence of patronage, or his disapproval of the manner in which Mr McLellan had entered upon his ministerial charge, as well as of the doctrine which he was supposed to teach, or of the lack of evangelical instruction imputed to him ; yet he always declared himself deeply satisfied with his christian exercise, and fully and happily impressed with the persuasion that he was truly a man of God. He was indeed throughout life a man of dignity, of sobriety, & of probity of manners, and although, amid the violence of party spirit occasioned by the above circumstance, and the active opposition which had been made to his becoming minister of the parish, he was sometimes stigmatised as an intruder, yet in character & conduct, he was not only faultless, but estimable, and at length became, if not as a preacher & pastor, yet as a gentleman, a friend and benefactor acceptable not only to the gentry, but generally to the inhabitants of the town and parish. I may add that after his death the good understanding betwixt the families continued ; none of my father's children ever visited the place without calling (if they could command the time) upon the surviving relatives of his deceased friend, and it so happened that in the course of providence one of our family was enabled, by some good offices which he had great pleasure in rendering, to repay somewhat of that kindness and interest which his departed friend had in life shewn to us when young.

We may perhaps enliven and illustrate these recollections by a brief delineation of certain estimable characters, who belonged to that olden time, as well as that part of the country, whom the writer knew, whose praise on various accounts was then in many of the congregations of the Secession church, and who have left their honourable names, as a blessing to God's chosen, but whose portraiture has not as yet, I believe, been drawn, or but faintly and passingly noticed.

STATE OF RELIGION

It will not be out of place, and may not be uninteresting or unprofitable, to introduce some passing remarks concerning the state of religion in general as well as the spirit and manners of pious men and pious ministers in these times. Of course much that I may say on these subjects cannot be conceived to be the result of personal knowledge, or particular reflection in one so young, but of what I heard and saw at that time, as well as the statements and commentaries of others concerning the circumstances narrated. All that can be reasonably expected is that I shall be faithful to my recollections, and I can vouch for no more. It may be right to begin with a few notices concerning the national church, and here especially I must disclaim all conscious evil bias or evil surmising. The account given shall be, as far as I can make it, fair and candid, the transcript of current & uncontradicted report at the time.

It will hardly now be denied that in these days she was, generally speaking, in a very declining & unsatisfaetory state. Her doctrine was greatly corrupted, her discipline mueh relaxed, and patronage, supported by the great majority in her courts, seconded by the civil powers, and even enforced when necessary by military array, was imperiously, & in instances not a few, oppressively exercised. Many excellent persons doubtless were still found within her pale, as well as a number of godly and evangelical ministers, but it was to be feared they were few compared with the amount of others, & many had either left her communion entirely, and taken refuge in the churches of the Secession, of the Relief, and of the church of the Reformed presbytery, or unsettled in their adherence to her ordinances & without having formed any new and permanent connections sought the food of their souls by attending the administrations of gospel ministers, particularly on Sacramental occasions whenever they eould enjoy them, frequenting them oft times, with no small inconvenience and at a considerable distance from

their homes. But though the parish churches, especially soon after the commencement of the Secession, were either almost totally, or very generally deserted, yet by degrees the zeal of the mass subsided, and numbers, particularly those who felt a less ardent interest in the purity of public religious institutions and administrations, returned to worship within the venerated walls of the establishment, where privileges were to be more easily obtained & enjoyed. This naturally encouraged the friends and leaders of the defection from pure doctrine, faithful discipline, christian liberty and holy living. The ministers of this class who remained in her communion became more supine and stinted in the discharge of their official duties. Family visitation according to the rules of the church fell into disuse—catechetical & scriptural examinations of sections of the parish in succession were by degrees greatly, if not wholly discontinued. Even some of those who were reputed evangelical, it was alleged, converted the gospel into a new law by which sincere, though imperfect obedience, superseding the righteousness of Christ as the only ground of justification according to the standards of the church of Scotland, and the scriptures of truth, was represented as the foundation of our acceptance with God, and accordingly addressed the offer of the gospel not to all mankind sinners as such, but restrictedly to the penitent & believing, who could not in fact be either, unless they had already embraced it, and received the grace of God in truth. Attendance upon sickbeds was neglected or became comparatively rare, preparation for public service was less assiduous or evangelical, and discourses were usually read, rather than spoken, a mode of address which the people, especially serious persons, at that time generally regarded with great aversion. Add to this, the stock of some was said to be very scanty, old discourses were frequently recurring, and coldly and slavishly rehearsed in the course even of an administration of no long continuance. Declining the active and energetic discharge of the duties of their spiritual and evangelical functions, too many of the pledged servants

of the Lord betook themselves to literary study, or the culture of their glebes, perhaps farms, or to other secular concerns. They cultivated connection with the upper classes of society in their parishes, declining intercourse with those of low degree to whom the gospel is preached, and set themselves earnestly so to arrange matters connected with the poor as to save expense to the heritors, especially as the offerings on Sabbath were very scanty. At the same time it is but justice to observe that the ministers of the establishment at this period and in this district, (although doubtless there were mournful exceptions, as there will be usually in every extended church,) were in general sober and dignified in their character, and if not always evangelical in sentiment, yet correct in morality, intelligent in conversation, urbane in manners, kindly and conciliatory in spirit.

For the sake of order & perspicuity, I shall arrange the memoranda I have to record on these subjects under the following departments—The character and exercises of private christians—the constitutions of Sessions—the public administrations of seceding ministers—their general character and deportment.

THE SECEDERS

In speaking to the first of these points, I must refer of course to the members of that religious conneetion (the Secession) with whieh I was more particularly acquainted. To them I havc adverted somewhat already, but their character & pious leanings and biases and exercises may be a little farther developed. As happens in all great crises, their temper was somewhat modified by the cireumstanees in which they were placed. Their Zeal was honest, but at the same time perhaps too hot occasionally in its manifestations & expressions. Attached to forms, they were apt to magnify things indifferent into undue importance. Strictly orthodox, and specially called forth as they conceived to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints, they could hardly bear a deviation from the

accustomed expressions which were wont to be used by sound divines in treating of certain doctrines. And perhaps there might be detected occasionally in their aspect and manner, too much of severity, while their temper in religious controversy might betray forgetfulness of the Divine declaration 'that the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God,' while their love of the truth, and their desire to convince an adversary, might induce them to commence controversy at unsuitable times and in unfit places, as well as to continue it too long and too vehemently. Cherishing great seriousness of soul on matters of religion these exercises were intense and scrutinising, and they were apt not only to be dissatisfied and humbled deeply with their imperfections and depravities & evil biases, and mixed motives, inseparable from the constitution & actings of the best in this present state, but to draw from these circumstances conclusions adverse to their own hopes & happiness, as well as to fix the evidence of personal religion higher than scripture examples and intimations would warrant and the scheme of grace would justify. Hence they were often sorrowful when they might have been glad, despondent when they might have been hopeful, bowed down & full of heaviness when they might have been rejoicing in the Lord, and borne up by the faith & hope of the gospel. They were apt also to appeal to their feelings and frames more than was meet, and to revert to these as the criteria of a personal interest in Christ, rather than directly to the word of God, and the testimony of Jesus, the truth of which they did not doubt, and a profound interest in which they always obviously cherished even in their moments of greatest alarm and discomfort and despondency or even despair. To this unhappy and erroneous leaning they were in part it may be inclined not only by the train of public discussions to which we shall afterwards advert, but by the trials of profession involved in the state of the times, by the controversies in which they were often engaged, by the character & exercises of the great & good men whom they admired in a period not long passed, as well as by the tenor of the

books with which they were most conversant, such as 'The cloud of witnesses,' 'Guthrie's trial of a saving interest in Christ,' 'Rutherford's letters,' 'Wellwood's glimpse of Glory,' 'Pike's cases of conscience,' [1] with the writings of other Puritan divines of a similar class. At the same time these men, so apt to be despondent and mournful or even melancholy were most estimable in themselves, & in general most exemplary in the discharge of duty, given to holy retirement, to the reading of the word of God, & to secret prayer, exact in their attendance on public ordinances, walking as far as human infirmity would permit, with perfect heart within their houses at home, devoted there to the worship of God, and to the pious instruction of their families, and in general diligent in the other business of life.

THE CONSTITUTIONS OF SESSIONS

The sessions in the National and the Seceding church were composed, as might be inferred from what has been already said of eonsiderably different materials. In the former the elders, (for there were no deacons,) were chosen not by the people, but by the minister, and were in general comparatively few, consisting often of the principal men of the parish, eminent I mean for property and station rather than for moral & religious qualifications—of course, it may be supposed that in many cases their spiritual duties, the visitation of the sick &c. would be

[1] *A Short Treatise of the Christian's Great Interest:* Divided into Two Parts: The First whereof containeth the Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ, The Second pointeth forth plainly the Way how to attain it. By Mr. William Guthrie, Minister of the Gospel at New Kilmarnock . . . Edinburgh, 1724.

Andrew Wellwood. *Meditations representing a Glimpse of Glory*, or, a Gospel Discovery of Emmanuel's Land . . . Edinburgh, 1721.

Religious Cases of Conscience answered in an Evangelical Manner, at the Casuistical Lecture, in Little St. Helen's, Bishopsgate Street. By S. Pike and S. Hayward. . . . London, 1755. Samuel Pike (d. 1773) was an Independent minister who became a 'Sandemanian.'

As to the *Cloud of Witnesses* and Rutherford's *Letters*, see p. 282, *n.* 1.

neglected, nor would a strict and sober example, such as they were bound by the laws of Christ, and would have been incited by the spirit of vital religion, to exhibit, be set before either those of whose souls they had taken the charge, or the religious community in general. Indeed strange reports concerning some of them, not only of undutifulness in the discharge of their appropriate duties, but of indifference to all practical religion, and even of occasional inebriety were circulated. On the other hand, the elders of the Secession were men at least ostensibly of pious and sober character; chosen by the people, and as particular districts were assigned to them, they were supposed to watch over those portions of the congregation committed to them with care; and as they met frequently in Session, not only for religious exercises, but also to consult about the practical deportment & the spiritual concerns of the members of the congregation, were excited to diligence and zeal in fulfilling the appropriate functions of their office by this indirect superintendance, as well as more directly and powerfully by the prayers, the example, the advice, & even when necessary the admonitions and reproofs of their brethren. There was besides, what was called an exercise of private censure, which was a part of the institution of the church of Scotland, and was observed from time to time in sessions, and by it the administration and conduct of each elder was brought successively as well as solemnly under review, and if found faulty, subjected the person of course to the affectionate remonstrance & reprehensions of the brethren. The elders were besides in the latter case considerably numerous, usually men advanced in life, and frequently persons of respectable standing in society, so that I have heard it often remarked, and seen reason myself to verify the truth of the saying, that no sight could be more august, than to behold, in some places, a large session consisting of a number of grey haired respectable men, of venerable aspect, convened in their appropriate apartment for grave consultation, or surrounding in the church the table of the Lord, bearing along the vessels of the Sanctuary, and

distributing, evidently with deep interest, the sacramental elements, and the symbols of salvation, amongst their private brethren, who were seated there to participate of them at their hands.

THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATIONS OF SECEDING MINISTERS

Of the private character of the ministers of the Secession we have before said somewhat. They have indeed been otherwise brought before the public, but partly by hostile writers whose aim it was to disparage them, and partly by their own controversial writings, which tinged by the spirit of the times do not reflect a clear & correct portraiture of their true characters, but tend rather to darken and distort them. They have been represented as proud, sanctimonious & pharisaical, demure and sour, surly and wrathful, disdaining others, repelling them from them with scorn, loving to drink ' the waters of strife,' unhappy themselves and indisposed to minister to the happiness of others. Than this picture nothing can be more unlike the original. They were doubtless not without human infirmities & as Paul confessed concerning himself and his brethren men of like passions with others. But they were men of God ; lovers of what was true and good ; and endeavouring to follow out in their own lives the faith and practice whieh they recommended to others from the pulpit. They were firm in principle, but they were not sour bigots. They could not bear that which was evil, while impiety, blasphemy and wickedness shrunk from their presence and frown. But they were contented, affable, eheerful and even facetious in spirit & converse, disposed to indulge in innocent mirth, and studying to make every company into which they entered, the wiser, the happier, and the better for their presence and conversation. Their income was comparatively small, and their general fare very plain, but there was no want at home, and their attire when they went abroad was always neat and clean, genteel and clerical : they might be known amongst the elders of the land, through the industry of

their excellent & frugal wives. The latter especially distributed to the necessities of others, and helped to feed the poor (even the mendicant poor) to an extent which now will appear hardly credible; in so much that I do not recollect that one of the latter (and not a few applied) was suffered to depart from my father's door without the accustomed alms, or almus as it was provincially called, consisting of a handful of oatmeal. With slender means they also exercised hospitality without grudging, and a preacher or minister would be entertained cordially & cheerfully with the best they could afford, for man and perhaps horse, for days, or even at times for weeks together. And verily neither, especially the latter, met with a cold reception. The greeting was brotherly. Upon arrival, clergymen, especially neighbouring clergymen, rushed into each other's arms, embracing and even saluting one another with a cordial welcome. And their converse, so far from being gloomy and misanthropical, especially after severe exertions, (such is the bias of human nature) passed occasionally into the other extreme & became excessive for apparent levity and great merriment. Their private ministrations, especially at the sickbed and in family visitation, were most active, unwearied, faithful, & full of zealous interest to promote the present edification and the eternal welfare both of their people, and of all others to whom they might with propriety extend them. They might with propriety extend them I say, for they never intruded themselves into the families of those who did not belong to their flocks when uncalled, and where their services, they had reason to suppose, would be unwelcome. At the same time, although they had usually enough to do in personal study, and congregational labours, as well as in official services abroad, yet they were often asked to visit others for spiritual purposes, amid bodily sickness, or perplexity of soul, as well as on funeral occasions, and though the call might come from a distance and involve a considerable consumption of time, they were not accustomed (at least my father never was wont) to decline it.

In general their preparations for public duty were also active, assiduous and appropriate. They were studious of the word of God in divine things. They were devout in spirit, & prayerful in exercise. They were firm in faith, sincere as well as zealous in profession, and mainly anxious to direct sinners to the Saviour, & guide saints to their eternal rest. If they erred in anything, I apprehend it was in consulting human writings, and human commentaries too much, & giving too little scope to their own independent researches, reflections & discussions. That, however, was the time for following an approved example rather than for prosecuting personal enquiry.

It is easy to conceive that the public administration of seceding ministers would be modified by the above circumstances—by the spirit of the times, the frequent calls of duty, even at a distance, and the approved patterns which they followed. The last consisted of some foreign authors such as Calvin and Witsius—domestic writers such as the Erskines & Boston; British authors such as Owen, Howe, Flavel, Henry, Poole and the other puritanical divines.[1] As the necessities of the crisis and the avidity of the people to receive instruction required not only frequent, but prolonged discussion, these services were necessarily lengthy, and as they had not leisure for exaet preparation, their method was minutely detailed, and their illustrations considerably desultory, while the application of their discourses was extended, faithful, varied, & pointed, usually distributed into various *uses*,

[1] Witsius, Herman Witsen (b. 1636, d. 1708), was Professor of Theology at Utrecht and author of many theological works. As to the Erskines, Boston, and Flavel, see p. 282, *n.* 1. John Owen (1616-83) was the author of *Vindiciae Evangelicae, Exercitations on Epistle to the Hebrews*, etc. His collected works were published 1721, 1826, 1850. John Howe (1630-1705) was chaplain to Cromwell, and author of *The Living Temple of God*, etc., collected works 1724, 1810-22, 1862-63. Matthew Henry (1622-1714), minister at Chester, was author of a well-known commentary, *Exposition of the Old and New Testament*, 1708-10, which was completed by thirteen Nonconformist divines after his death. Matthew Poole (1624-79) was author of the *Synopsis Criticorum aliorumque Sacrae Scripturae Interpretum*. It was placed on the Roman Index. It has been frequently reprinted and abridged.

of information, of self-examination, of reproof and so on. Their delivery was sometimes uncouth, but always earnest ; their language necessarily, & even of purpose, as they studied great plainness of speech, was unpolished. The essay form of discussion was discarded, or rather unknown among them, not being adapted to popular instruction, especially in times previous to which great ignorance of evangelical doctrine, & even of scriptural knowledge, had prevailed, and not being sufficiently perspicuous in its order or calculated to be easily recollected. The body of the discourses, though not very compact, was yet replete with gospel truth and scriptural references, the latter being always quoted chapter & verse, a method which not only made the people acquainted with the Bible, but pointed them to those passages where the proofs of what the speaker asserted or argued were to be found, so that the hearer might judge for himself. The public worship was frequently opened, after reading the psalm, with what was called a preface, or descant upon its meaning. No hymns or pious songs, no poetical paraphrases or translations were then used in the church of the Secession, the psalms of inspiration being alone employed in public worship, although sacred poems composed by uninspired men, particularly ' Erskine's Sonnets ' were much read and relished by the godly in private. The morning prayer was usually long, embracing a variety of general topics of public interest. The lecture or exposition of scripture which followed, and which in a stated ministry was usually taken from a particular book of the Bible in regular order, was frequently divided into the expository part, and its practical applications. No peculiar pulpit garb, gown or bands, was then used, although the attire of the minister was always appropriate, and might be thought in some respects to be even starch & finical. His clothes were all of black, he used silver knee buckles & shoe buckles, and occasionally, especially in early life, silk stockings. A cravat was passed round the neck, covered frequently by the snow white collar of his shirt, & folded so that the end of it fell with a broad, sometimes long flap upon the breast,

and in the latter case was occasionally tucked within the buttons of the vest. The coiffure, whether it consisted of a periwig or the natural hair, was always, or almost always, highly dressed with powder and pomatum, as well as carefully curled on the temples, and behind, sometimes kept in order by crisping pins, and surmounted by a toupee. I may add that while thc attire of seceding clergymen was always appropriate, as we have suggested, when they went abroad they usually appeared enveloped, as part of their costume, in a blue eloak oftcn of fine cloth, whieh hung in easy folds round the body, or was wrapt closely about it as circumstances might require, and in general all who met them did them reverence, thus shewing respeet at once to their character and office.

Their deaths corresponded to their lives, and were distinguished by tokens of regard and interest even more unquestionable & far superior, as well as more desirable. The affections of their flocks were coneentrated upon them ardently in the close of life. God himself eminently owned his servants in their dying hour, not only upholding them by His grace, but enabling them in many instances to preach from their dying bed, and thus to elose their ministry in a manner the most appropriate & influential. The sun of heaven shone upon their evening hours, and after departure the odour of sanctity and usefulness perfumed the places where they had lived, and laboured, and died. No cloud rested upon their character, and I have often had great pleasure in reflecting that of all those who have been invested with sacred office amongst us, and had time to form a charaeter, and give full proof of their ministry, there was hardly one, concerning whose future wellbeing, I eould entertain any just apprehension. And after their decease demonstrations of respect the most touching and the most undoubted were shewn by all elasses of persons to their memory. In towns, thc places of business were voluntarily shut up, and other tokens of mourning were exhibited. The public universally was solemnised, and affeeted. Many, though uninvited, attended their funeral. The indifferent & even the ungodly were

heard to pronounce their eulogium. Tears wetted the pathway and the grave. All seemed to say, 'Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord.' 'Help Lord for the godly man ceaseth, for the faithful fail from among the children of men.' In short, they were unwearied in labours, greatly self-denied, loving to spend and to be spent for Christ and for the good of others. And so far from being cringing and servile, they were always dignified in deportment, independent in administration, and impartial, even I might say, somewhat rigorous in their judicial procedure, both in sessions and in higher courts. Indeed their authority and influence, so far from being prostrated to the popular will, rather leant to the opposite extreme. Nor could I point to a class of men, concerning whom I might say, they were more disinterested, patient and enduring in spirit, or faithful & magnanimous in the discharge of the proper duties of their calling. And I may premise the attempt of delineating some individuals of these estimable ones of that olden time, by saying that they were all, though distinguished by several characteristics, faithful and disinterested men, holy and pious in their lives, mainly desirous of saving souls, and seeking not their own, but the things that belonged to Christ.

THE REV. ANDREW MITCHELL OF BEITH [1]

I know that I shall be forgiven by the candid and affectionate reader, if I begin with my own Father. And here, as is befitting, I shall study brevity. He was a native of the southwestern coast of Fife, the only child of James Mitchell, a respectable Tobacconist in that quarter, and perhaps the only one in the trade. He was expert in his business and capable himself of executing all the parts of the occupation, considered as a craft, for I have seen him selecting the leaf, and either spinning it into a thick thread, or toasting it at the fire, in a square trough lined with white iron, and afterwards pounding it in a large mortar

[1] Ordained 1765; died Feb. 8, 1812.

by means of a heavy iron ball, turned by a thick handle laid on the shoulder. There were no snuff mills, no cigars, and even no chopped tobacco for the pipe for smoking in those days. He was simple hearted, loved to walk & work within the circle of his business, above all a godly man, without pride, and without pretention—ever content, and ever well pleased, in so much that I do not recollect to have seen him angry, though I & my brothers teased him often not a little by our childish importunities. He died at the venerable age of eighty, with a character unspotted, and I doubt not with a hope of immortality, resting it may be on simple grounds, but altogether unshaken. Suffice it just to mention the following traits of my father's character. I have reason to know that he was a good Latin Scholar; and had also studied Hebrew with some attention. He was, as may be well supposed, a Seceder by conviction, but willing at all times to extend offices of charity, compassion and kindness to persons of every other persuasion—ever ready, when called, to visit the sickbeds, and deathbeds of them, as well as of his own people, administering, as it was said he very successfully did, such instructions and consolations as they severally needed; nor of this portion of his ministry also did he want, as I have heard, interesting seals. He was indeed a man of God. His ministrations in the Sanctuary were preceded and followed by prayer. In prayer the seed he was about to sow was steeped, and after it had been sown, his earnest supplications, often heard by the family ascending even 'with groanings that cannot be uttered,' were sent up to the throne of grace as soon as he came home and had retired to his chamber, as he was wont immediately to do, doubtless for the descent of the dews & rains of the Holy Spirit to sanctify it & render it richly profitable to his hearers, as well as to others by their means. These discourses were deeply fraught with scriptural matter, and evangelical instruction, accompanied as the subject might suggest, & as circumstances might require, with varied practical application:—containing exhortations to duty, especially to present and important

duty; solution of cases of conscience—rich & precious consolations to the bereaved & afflicted, and if needful by pointed, though seldom personal rebukes. They were generally long though almost never unpremeditated or extemporaneous, but written and committed to memory. He was master of shorthand, and assiduous in study. Besides the active visitation of the sick, and necessary calls upon friends, he discharged with regularity & faithfulness his other ministerial duties, particularly the visitations of the families of his people, which he performed, I believe, once a year as long as he was able. And as his congregation was large, and scattered throughout several parishes, much time must have been consumed in such exercises. Besides he was frequently called abroad to assist on Sacramental occasions, when as the services were long, and the attendance numerous, the work assigned to each minister was necessarily laborious, & such calls, when in health, he made a point of complying with always, especially when they came from his own regular assistants. He was also conscientious in attending upon meetings of presbytery, though these were generally held at a considerable distance, and at length of Synod, though that court met in his time statedly at Edinburgh. But still, notwithstanding all these avocations, he neglected not his pulpit preparations, reserving constantly the Friday & Saturday for this work, to which he devoted these days closely, I might say almost uninterruptedly. In the family he was gentle but dignified in his demeanour. I do not remember ever to have seen him unhinged with anger, but he was firm in administering reproof or discipline when either was required. I need not say that the devotional services of the family were regularly observed on week days, morning and evening, and on Sabbath days, if I recollect right, thrice, accompanied with catechetical instructions, & calls for recollective notes of the discourses from those of the household who could be supposed competent to give them. His temper in general society was cheerful and affable, though so entirely circumspect and consistent with his sacred character that I believe no

imprudent speech (at least I have never heard of any) ever fell from his lips and no one durst swear in his presence. The tittle tattle of society, or defamatory tales against individuals in private, he ever repressed by a reproving aspect, and saying, 'there may be perhaps something in that,' or obviously, according to his own phraseology, by hearing them as though he heard them not, or turning a deaf ear to them. In short his character was as unsullied as his spirit was pious, & his labours active and faithful, & I have reason to know that 'they were not in vain in the Lord.' He was honoured I believe to have not a few seals of his ministry, and I anticipate with humble confidence that there are a very considerable number who shall own him as their spiritual father or acknowledge that he was in various respects and degrees, their instructor and comforter in the things of God, and in relation to the hopes of the Gospel. Thus for forty-four years did my father preach 'the blessed Evangel,' and guide the spiritual affairs of his eongregation, with exceedingly little interruption or relaxation. But at last it pleased God by a stroke of apoplexy to lay him aside from his loved employ, and under this he languished for several years, until he was called in the forty-seventh year of his ministry and seventy-third of his age, as I have no doubt to receive the reward of a faithful servant, and to enter into the joy of his Lord. As old age advanced with its attendant infirmities, he was accustomed to ride out for exercise. On one oecasion the horse, startled by some unknown cause, ran off at full speed. Fortunately he was turned at that time homewards and he galloped thither & stopped at his stable door, after he had passed through the street of the town to the terror of the inhabitants, who anticipated nothing but a fearful, perhaps fatal catastrophe. My Father, however, who was an exeellent horseman, kept his seat until he arrived at the plaee to which he was hastening so rapidly. But whether it was that the alarm had roused the dormant disease, or that the spasm of the disease by causing the rider involuntarily to apply the spur had excited the animal, so it was that upon attempting to

dismount he was found to have lost the power of one side. Aware from this circumstance as well as probably from the remembrance of a slighter premonitory symptom which had occurred a considerable time before, that his life was now placed continually in doubt, and that his latter end was drawing nigh, he embraced a resolution which deserves to be recorded for the christian courage and ministerial faithfulness which it implied, and which was in some measure characteristic of the age, and of the spirit and manner of the servants of God at that period. He caused himself to be carried to the church as well as helped into the pulpit. There follows an affecting transaction which pictures before the eye of the mind a very dignified as well as solemn scene which could not fail under God to deepen the impression & extend the influence of all his previous ministry. Imitating, but not emulating, the example of such servants of the Lord as Samuel, Moses, and Paul, not doubtless to magnify himself, or his services, and indeed it is probable without adverting to their examples, urged only by a conscious sense of general faithfulness, as well as a desire to benefit his people to the last, he gave them first a summary of the doctrine he had preached to them, confessing his weakness and unworthiness and acknowledging that all he said or did well was through the aid of divine Grace, he appealed to them solemnly whether he had not thus preached the gospel of the grace of God amongst them, 'warning every man and teaching every one' in public and private, 'that he might present every man perfect in Christ Jesus,' and amid 'weakness and fear and trembling,' testifying the gospel of the grace of God amongst them; and he took them to record that he was free from the blood of all of them, and calling upon them most earnestly and affectionately to improve his past ministry among them, to secure its saving results as they would have to answer to God at the great day of final judgment, and the glorious appearing of their and his Lord. Thus the pulpit labours of this good and faithful servant of the Lord were closed and crowned in a manner of suitable dignity, and although his

life was for years prolonged in feebleness, and soon after in seclusion from the sanctuary, by his moving to live amongst his children in Glasgow, yet this last appearance and appeal could hardly be forgotten by the most heedless and reckless, or fail to produce a salutary impression upon all who were present. Afterwards and during the period of his entire retirement from public life, overpowered by infirmity and the influence of disease of which, as we have seen, he had felt the prognostications and indeed the stroke, he spoke little, though he seemed to possess his soul not only in patience but in cheerfulness, and like Jacob to wait in the exercise of humble faith and hope for the salvation of God. At last like David, having served his generation, by the will of God he fell on sleep. Thus died this venerable servant of God and minister of the Gospel of Christ. Yet not till he had given, through the grace of God, full proof of his ministry. And I think I may be permitted to say, indeed am justified in adding, that as far as human imperfection will admit he was 'a wise & faithful steward of the manifold grace of God.' His talents and acquirements were respectable. His administrations were active, prudent, and faithful. His manners were urbane and affable. His conversation was cheerful and even facetious. His conduct was eminently prudent & circumspect, exemplary and, in the eyes of men, even faultless. Though conscientiously faithful in the discharge of his duty, according to the rule of the Apostle, he gave no offence in anything that the ministry might not be blamed. I never heard of a charge preferred, even of a calumny uttered, against him, nay of a reproach cast upon him. His temper was mild and benignant—he still preserved, even in the midst of the freest conversation, a sort of sacred dignity—he ruled well his own family, but it was with a gentle authority; an authority supported by preserving a due distance, rather than by the exercise of stern severity. He could indeed punish, but the chastisement was always obviously merited, as well as inflicted dispassionately in due measure & in such a manner as to awe & impress. In this intercourse with his

people & with others, though he was by no means starch, yet he never forgot the decorum due to his office, or permitted, even in persons belonging to the upper class of the community, aught that was indecent or calumnious or profane, to escape unreproved. Such was the hallowed respect somehow thrown around him, that I never heard a profane oath uttered in his presence, and even those who on other occasions were most addicted to blasphemy, refrained in his hearing, especially in conference with him. Evil doers of every class, especially the desecrators of the Sabbath, shunned his sight, and vanished as he approached, that they might escape his frown and his rebuke, which they knew they were sure to incur. His spirit partook much of the meekness and gentleness of his Great Master. His administrations, when it was practicable, were always the fruit of close & prayerful study. His discourses were replete with spiritual truth, and illustrations of the grace of the Gospel, while they were composed and delivered, though not in the style of studied ornament or modern eloquence, and while in the modulation of his voice his tone partook of the peculiarity of the times, yet were they addressed to the mind and heart and conscience, with much plainness and sincerity, pointed faithfulness, as well as earnest and affectionate pleading. He had to my knowledge not a few seals of his ministry—those who withdrew from it, as several amid the heat of controversy at one time did,[1] retired I believe without relinquishing respect for his person, and ministry, and still I have no reason to doubt, now that he is gone, a sacred odour surrounds his character, and he is spoken of with esteem, not only in the circle of his surviving relatives and acquaintances and neighbours, but generally in that district which was the chief scene of his labours, as well as to some extent in the church of which he was a member, yea even in distant and foreign parts, whither some of his people, and of the children of God, who had been born and fed under his ministry during its progress or since its completion

[1] During Mr. Mitchell's ministry a stormy feud arose in his congregation about the 'Lifter Controversy,' respecting which see p. 322.

have in the providence of God withdrawn and settled. His general character may be deduced from the preceding facts, and sensible of the misleading and exaggerating influence of filial bias, I dare not trust myself to say much more. It was not possessed perhaps of what has been called '*force*,' nor were its outlines very strongly marked or prominent, yet they were attractive and amiable. The features of which it was composed, if I may be allowed the allusion, like the elements of nature, & the lights of the sky, melted into each other, and formed a harmonious whole, which was calculated to convey the impression of 'simplicity & Godly sincerity,' of gentleness and cheerfulness and goodness. 'He was indeed the servant of God & the friend of man.' He was contented with his lot, though by no means affluent, loved his work, which while honourable was yet incessantly laborious, and having preached the grace of God on earth, he is now enjoying, I cannot doubt, amidst several of his spiritual offspring, its blessed fruits in glory. To him amongst others, I may apply, as I am assured he is now realising its purport & blessedness, the following sublime benedietion of the last of the Seers of Israel: 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth; yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them.'' Rev. xiv. 13.

My mother for years survived, but never surmounted this shock. She was the daughter of John Alice of Blairngone, and one of the most execllent of women. She was sister of the Rev[d] James Aliee of Paisley,[1] whose character has been so highly, yet justly eulogised by the Rev[d] Dr. Ferrier, now also gone from the church below, to join the 'general assembly and church of the first born on high.' Simple hearted, modest, affectionate, ingenuous, yet shrewd and penetrating, capable of discerning character, strong in mind, and to a considerable degree original in her mode of thinking. Her piety was unaffected and ardent. She was active and industrious, and frugal as a

[1] Ordained 1756, died 1798.

housewife, but affectionate to her children, charitable to the indigent, kind to all, and would have rather stinted herself than that others should have wanted the needful supply. Faithful and attached as a spouse, she was loving and devoted as a mother, and never ceased to seek the welfare and to promote the good of her children, at the expense of every exertion and sacrifice of her own ease and comfort. My father willingly and wisely resigned, amid his other cares, the secular concerns of the family to her, and it was owing to her thrifty & industrious management, that with only sixty or seventy pounds a year he was enabled to appear himself always exceedingly decent in apparel, to exercise hospitality when needful, to hold an honourable rank in general society, and to give three of his sons a university, and all his family, which consisted of seven sons and three daughters, a respectable education. At length, however, in the eightieth year of her age, she was suddenly called home, and is now, I doubt not, happy with her former husband in the enjoyment of their common God and Saviour.

THE REV. WILLIAM JAMESON OF KILWINNING [1]

The Rev[d] William Jameson of Kilwinning was my father's nearest neighbour in the religious connection, his constant assistant at sacramental occasions, and his intimate friend at all times. As the two fathers, so the two families, maintained a friendly correspondence throughout life, and the late Mr John Jameson of Methven, so well known and so much beloved in our body, and esteemed by all who knew him for his bland manner and a consecrated genius, which distinguished his sermons and breathed, I might say sparkled, in his epistles, was the contabularis of one of my brothers (A. Mitchell Esquire of Maulside, Writer, Glasgow,) at College. Well do I remember the venerable form and aspect of the father of this excellent minister. He was also imbued with a similar

[1] Ordained 1763, died 1792.

spirit of sacred genius, and his discourses were replete with holy unction and characterised like his Lord's, by familiar imagery, never low, always apt, always instructive, often peculiarly touching and impressive. He had a patriarchal appearance; his voice was soft, sweet and unaffectedly musical in its tones, his manner was grave and affectionately kind; he spoke with apostolic grace, his whole manner was attractive & winning, yet dignified and commanding,—in short he was simply eloquent. He was indeed a godly man, and one who did not always speak favourably of his brethren said of him that he lived more in heaven than any man he knew. He was also extremely acutc as well as subtle, in so much that another said of him, that if he had not been controlled by principle he would have been one of the greatest & most successful of rogues. In common life he was very affable and condescending, full of shrewd remark, and in his eonversation sometimes indulged sharp wit or good-humoured repartee. When travelling, which he usually did in later years slowly on horseback, he loved to accost any decent stranger who might be going the same road, and to enter into conversation with them. On one occasion, having fallen in it is said with a household servant of the Earl of Eglinton, and proceeded to chat with him, and having observed that he used the expression 'de'il' very frequently, thinking a rebuke might be useful, if adroitly administered; at the parting of their respective roads he turned off for a little way, & then returning, rode up to him quiekly, & with an air of well assumed curiosity and interest asked him. 'Who is that ye spake of so frequently?' 'To whom do you refer?' the man replied. 'It was somebody ye ca'ed the *de'il*,' responded Mr. Jameson. 'And I thought he might be one of your particular acquaintances or friends as ye made sa free wi' his name.' The man who had stopped to receive him, as if he had indeed seen the person alluded to instantly clapped spurs to his horse & rode off at the gallop. Another humorous & characteristic anecdote the reader will I presume pardon. The horse which Mr Jameson rode in advanced life, and which he called

Donald, was, as best fitted him, staid in gait and not very high in bearing. To his appearance and attitude some of his young family strongly objeeted, urging their father to get another of better look and nobler carriage, 'No no,' says he, 'of all the good qualities my Donald possesses, these are some of the best, for I would not give a farthing for man or horse that does not look well to his feet.'

Sueh was this exeellent man, cheerful yet grave, venerable yet aeute in observation, & lively in repartee. He was truly a primitive & apostolieal bishop, a patriarehal pastor, diligent in his Master's work, beloved by his floek, most aeeeptable in his administrations to every pious thinking person, and venerated by all around. But at length I grieve to say, the evening of his days as well as that of my father, was embittered by a eontroversy whieh appears now to be utterly inadequate in its grounds, and has beeome defunet, but then agitated the ehureh of the Seeession in these parts furiously, and rent the congregations of both of these ministers in pieees. It was no other than whether it was essential in the administration of the Lord's Supper, to take and lift up from the table whereon they were plaeed, the bread and the wine; previous to reading the words of institution as well as to prayer or thanksgiving. Many eontended that it was an indispensable pre-requisite, and that the saerament could not be rightly administered unless this was done. Others said that it was indifferent and might be omitted without sin, or shorteoming in duty on the part of the minister. Upon this ground, whieh no one now I believe thinks of magnifying into sueh importanee, many well meaning and well disposed people parted from their once beloved pastors, wrenehed themselves from their old religious conneetions & formed themselves into a new party, which they hoped would absorb and outlive all, but is now extinet. Such are the blinding effeets of unenlightened zeal, such often though not always the issue of eontendings for unimportant matters.

THE REV. JAMES TAYLOR OF AYR [1]

I shall gratify myself, & I hope interest the reader by attempting to delineate, howsoever briefly, the portraiture of two or three other ministers, well known in that district, & eminent in their day. The first of these, who was affectionately attached in spirit, and neighbouring in place, is the Rev^{d} James Taylor of Ayr. He was a native of Stirlingshire, upon conviction a strict, almost stern, Seceder of the old school. He was also an excellent man, of sound understanding but little fancy, acceptable though not popular as a preacher, dignified and gentlemanly in his manners, firm & independent in the discharge of his duties as a pastor and presbyter. In church courts he was an enlightened and uncompromising judge, whose spceches, delivered before the General Associate Synod in Edinburgh, it was reported, drew even Advocates occasionally to listen to them, and were admired by all for their correctness of elocution, manliness of spirit, clearness, consecutiveness, & eoneentration of argument. As his neighbour and friend Mr Jameson had bcen married to the daughter of Mr William Wilson of Perth, one of the first four ministers of the Secession, and the first Professor of Divinity to the body, so he was connected in the same intimate alliance with a granddaughter of the Rev^{d} Alexander Moncrieff of Calfargie, another of these illustrious men, and daughter of the Rev^{d} William Moncrieff of Alloa, also a Professor of Theology to a portion of the same body after they had unhappily become disunited. This breach has since in the good providence of God been healed, but Mr Taylor was destined to endure another which admits of no reparation. This separation deeply pained his heart, infusing somewhat of mournful melancholy into the temperament of his spirit, and it is said he retired often to her resting place which was near the Manse, that he might meditate, and doubtless mourn and pray over her remains, while he sat upon her tombstone, nor did he long survive. The circumstances of his death

[1] Ordained 1798, died 1837.

were singular and affecting. Having, in compliance with an appointment of the General Associate Synod, gone to Kendal to supply a vacant charge for a certain time, he was there seized with fever of which he died, and there also like Rachel he was buried. It is affecting but consolatory to state that during the access, perhaps the reveries of the distemper, he was heard praying fervently & affectionately for his beloved people whom he had left, as well as no doubt for his family and friends; thus manifesting at once the predominance of piety in his exercise, as well as the transcendency of his pastoral & domestic interests in his heart. His mind was also strong, his resolution firm, and his independence undoubted, while his urbanity of manners & the intelligence of his conversation recommended him to all. Two anecdotes will illustrate these traits. Having announced, as he regularly did, the public examination of a particular portion of his congregation, when the hour was come, as he was very punctual, he went into the church, the ordinary place of meeting, which had been prepared for the reception of himself and the persons who might attend, by opening the shutters which closed in the windows. Having waited a very considerable time and no one appearing, he called the door-keeper and ordered him to close the shutters. This done, he went down the street into the body of the town. On his way he met those, whose earlier attendance he had expected, moving towards the church. They expressed their surprise asking if this were not examination day: 'Yes' replied he 'but it is long past the hour, and I would have you to know that James Taylor has business as well as any of you,' and moved onward; thus showing, what I know to be the fact, that seceding ministers then as well as now, so far from being subservient as may be thought, or has been asserted, to the will or caprice of their people, always acted independently, and exercised due authority over them. They acted as wise and dignified parents ruling their own households. Mr Taylor, I have heard, was wont to dine by particular invitation with the presbytery

of the Established Church after its ordinary meetings in Ayr, which, as has been already said, was the chief town of the district and the seat of its principal courts. On one occasion of this sort a young minister of the National church, probably not aware of the presence of Mr Taylor, broke out into a philippic against the people of the Secession. His brethren knowing well the spirit of the latter, as well as his ability to rebut and retaliate the charge, were painfully affected, as we may believe, with the fear of an explosive response which might disturb the harmony of the meeting. He however soon relieved their minds, by saying in a gentlemanly yet waggish strain, 'My young brother does not know these people so well as I do, else he might have said much worse of them.' This repartee so forbearing & so considerate called forth the laugh against the reckless youth, while it inspired sentiments of admiration towards his sage but kind reprover. Such also were Mr Taylor's habits of order, as well as his knowledge of books, that, if I recolleet aright, the public library of Ayr was placed under his care, though a Seceder, by the votes of the liberal subscribers, and his name among all classes of persons in that place, and indeed by all who knew him, has never I believe been mentioned or recollected either there or elsewhere without affection & veneration.

THE REV. JAMES ROBERTSON OF KILMARNOCK [1]

In the same district & not far remote, lived another minister of the same denomination of somewhat dissimilar character, of perhaps less practical diseretion, but of great original powers of thinking, & of high attainment in erudition, linguistic and theological:—the Rev[d] James Robertson, A.M., of Kilmarnock. He knew intimately the three learned languages belonging especially to his profession, besides two or three other living dialects, and was considerably versant, I believe, with Oriental tongues

[1] Ordained 1777, died 1811.

seldom studied or mastered even by scholars, Chaldaic, Syriac, and Arabic. He was, as we have said, a man of strong original thinking—of ardent piety—of unimpeachable integrity, but occasionally somewhat blunt and unpolished in its expression. He had a powerful imagination, capable of illustrating and enforcing subjects by familiar but most impressive imagery. His discourses were rich with sententious statements of precious truth, which were calculated, while they convinced the mind, to take a powerful hold of the imagination and memory. He had read perhaps more theology in systems and commentaries than any man in Ayrshire, but so rapidly that he could give only a succinct, not a detailed view of the books he had read. In like manner, in argument he was accustomed to strike off a sparkling decisive proof at one blow, but could not hammer out a long train of links of reasoning. His grasp was one, but it was a giant's grasp,—his illustration was ever striking and memorable, though not, it might be, elegant or consecutive, and in criticising a discourse, or delineating a character, or giving judgment in a cause, the same apparently intuitive concentration of views was conspicuous, and seizing upon a few prominent and comprehensive statements or features, he came at once to a conclusion equally just and impressive. In these respects his talents differed remarkably from those of Mr Taylor, who was also strong and sound in judgment, but took a detailed view of circumstances, and carried on his argument by a concatenation of proof to the conclusion. Mr Robertson was a firm, rather a stern, seceder, and loved occasionally to give a slap to what he deemed the pride of pretention in members of the Establishment.

An anecdote or two in this case, as in the former, while they amuse or instruct the reader, may illustrate these features of character and ministration. Once preaching to a large audience from a tent which was placed at the base of the tower of the Abbey of Kilwinning, while it commanded a view of that portion of the Firth of Clyde which separates the mainland from Arran, as well as of the mountainous crags of the island itself,—with the

design of illustrating the total inadequacy of human exertion or excellence to acquire the salvation of man, he exclaimed, accompanying the utterance with a suitable attitude, 'It is as impossible since the fall of man, my 'friends, to get to heaven by works of human merit, as 'it would be to climb to the top of that tower there by 'twa steps of a broken ladder, or to sail to Arran yonder 'on a feather.' Illustrating the use of good works too in the economy of grace, although he denied their adequacy to procure salvation, he was accustomed to say that 'Swords and pistols had their uses, although we could 'not thatch houses with them.' And he was wont to compare patronage to a rusty hoop which held together the staves of a barrel that would otherwise fly asunder.

On one occasion while some of the clergy of Kilmarnock along with himself were attending an examination of the Grammar School of the place, the scholars in translating a portion of Homer it was said came to a stand, and looked round for assistance. The master was either incompetent to solve the difficulty which prevented their procedure, or it may be, adverting at the time to other concerns connected with the occasion, the class remained silent and the business was arrested for a considerable period. At last Mr Robertson stepped forward and said waggishly & somewhat sarcastically to the clergy of the established church who were present, 'Come now, *you monopolise all learning*, and you cannot but get them out of this lurch.' But in vain he appealed to them, no one seemed willing to undertake the task of solution. At last he himself approaching the class said to a boy, 'Give me your book and let me look at the passage.' The boy did so, and Mr Robertson running his eye closely, as he was short-sighted, along the lines, discovered how the meaning might be disentangled, and said loud enough to be read by all, 'Look ye here; there is a semicolon, which you know is equivalent in the Greek printing to a point of interrogation, read it as a question, and you will see that it will give good sense.' He himself did so, and to the surprise it may be of some, and the amusement

of others, gave a clear & intelligible translation of the original text.

Clergymen often, like others, have particular exercises in which they delight. Mr Robertson loved to dwell upon topics of what was called marrow doctrine [1] (containing the substance of the gospel of the Grace of God) and especially to expound prophecy, above all the book of Revelation. When treating on subjects connected with the former, his great acquaintance with the writings of the Puritan Divines enabled him to quote often their pithy and judicious statements; and with regard to the latter his intimate knowledge of the sacred originals, as well as his extensive course of historical and expository reading, prepared him for throwing a light which was not seldom new and pleasing upon some of the darkest passages of the oracles of God. As might be expected from the foregoing notices, Mr Robertson though not an elegant, or in a strict sense an eloquent, speaker, was yet a most respectable divine, as well as a very popular, instructive and impressive preacher. In his last illness, with characteristic selection and ardour, he was seen sitting up reading by way of interesting study, Greenhill's Commentary on Ezekiel; and on his deathbed, with the humility of a Christian, when some one spoke to him of his excellence and acceptance as a minister of the gospel, and of the great use his ministry must have been to many precious souls, he responded by expressing briefly a deep sense of his own unworthiness & nothingness in the sight of God, adding, in the words of Paul to his beloved son Timothy, 'It is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation that Christ came into the world to save sinners, of whom' (added he with a marked reference to himself and a slight change of the translation,) 'I am *a chief one.*'

[1] The phrase refers to the famous 'Marrow Controversy.' Edward Fisher's *Marrow of Modern Divinity* was a work of Puritan theology published in England during the Commonwealth. It was reprinted in 1718. It became very popular among the more zealous Presbyterian ministers. In 1720 it was formally condemned by the General Assembly. Twelve ministers protested, and a long controversy ensued, which was one of the causes of the Secession.

THE REV. DAVID SMEATON OF KILMAURS [1]

The Rev[d] David Smeaton, Minister of Kilmaurs, was next neighbour to Mr Robertson, and as he was considerably his senior, and connected with the earlier annals of the Secession, it may be interesting to record somewhat of his character and biography. He belonged to the second generation of Seceding ministers. His times were somewhat peculiar, as were the talents and ministration suited to them. He had probably been a student in the established church; certainly was possessed of a considerable portion of the dialectic knowledge which was then in vogue in our public schools, as he was called upon by the Presbytery, after he had attached himself to the body of the Secession, to examine those students of divinity who offered themselves as candidates for licence in the new church upon the system of logic and metaphysics taught by the celebrated Devereux, and of which he left a compendium which is still extant. It is true the founders of the Secession thought themselves necessitated to institute besides their professorship of Theology, classes also of Logic and of Moral Philosophy, that they might if possible prevent their students from being infected with errors on the latter subjects which were then prevalent in the Universities. But the institution, probably because it wanted sufficient funds, and the public attention had been withdrawn for the time to active measures of more immediate importance & pressing interest, did not succeed, and after a short trial was relinquished. The studious youth of the Secession too, preferring the more enlarged education to be had at the National Seminaries attended it but partially or not at all. Meanwhile the work of evangelisation was going on,—the country in many places was roused in favour of the Seeession, and numerous applications for sermons, even from distant quarters, were presented to individual ministers as well as to the Meetings of Presbytery. Their licentiates too, like their

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1 Otherwise spelt Smyton. Ordained 1740, died 1789.

ministers, were comparatively few. Of the latter Mr Smeaton was one. His ministrations were assigned chiefly to the locality of Ayrshire, but he had occasionally to perambulate large portions of country and to preach almost continuously. For the former he was eminently fitted, as his form was slender as well as active, and he either was or became an expert horseman, for which qualification indeed the early seceding ministers were generally noted, such an acquisition being necessary to the exercise of their evangelical vocation, including visitations and journeyings so frequent and so extensive. At length Mr Smeaton was settled in Kilmaurs, which was considered a central point for his ministrations, but with the understanding that he was to superintend those who might accede to him in many parishes around, and preach occasionally at selected stations in these parishes. A church of very considerable dimensions was afterwards built for him at the place of his settlement. In consequence of his itinerancies and the popularity of the Secession, congregations were collected & from time to time churches built at these stations, & generally, as might be expected, in the chief village or town of the district. Such were Ayr, Kilmarnock, Stewarton, Kilwinning, Beith. These congregations he naturally considered as his own charge, and belonging to his own flock. Accordingly a strong attachment to them and a feeling of appropriation sprung up which when it became necessary in the course of time by reason of the increase of members at each to form them into separate and independent congregations, could not be easily overcome. Of course when disjunctions were claimed for each considerable station in succession, he always resisted the dismemberment, and never consented to it in any case, especially in those that were somewhat adjacent, without extreme reluctance. And as these movements took place chiefly in his advanced life, the Courts, to gain his consent, required to act with considerable address; indeed it is said, that notwithstanding every counsel and caution, in one or two instances, such as in that of Kilmarnock, in

his immediate vicinity, a feeling of disaffection to it was never entirely extinguished. An amusing story is told of the manner in which his opposition to another disjunction, somewhat more remote, was overcome or at least allayed. It took place in the case of Irvine, and the annexation of the people there to the congregation of Kilwinning already formed, and placed under the ministry of the Rev^{d} William Jameson formerly mentioned. After long discussion and extreme reluctance manifested on the part of Mr Smeaton to consent to the measure, a member of Presbytery (the Rev^{d} James Alice of Paisley) suggested as a conciliatory expedient that it might be decreed, 'the people should 'be transferred to the pastoral care of Mr Jameson but 'that the land should be considered as belonging to 'Mr Smeaton.' To this somewhat amusing decision the latter ('good easy man') at length yielded; it might soothe his feelings though it could not well satisfy his judgment.

The discourses of Mr Smeaton were long and desultory, in consequence of the spirit and state of the times. Being called to make long journeys & to preach frequently without time for written preparation, or even the possibility in most cases of considerable premeditation, he was almost necessarily thrown upon extemporaneous speaking, while the thirst for instruction, especially on evangelical subjects, as well as the illustration & argument necessary to support and explain views which had been seldom brought forward, and greatly misunderstood or controverted, were adverse to conciseness of statement and concatenation of reasoning. Thus a taste was created among serious people for lengthened and less compact or orderly discussions on such topics in that and in other parts of the country. Sermons and lectures were seldom acceptable if they were under an hour in length, while frequently they extended to considerably upwards of that length in duration, and sometimes, I might say not seldom, to nigh two hours or more. Mr Smeaton was subjected to the full influence of such causes, & accordingly his addresses, especially towards the close of his life, were usually long, very long. He

had not finished his ministry, however, before a new taste sprung up, and shorter and more condensed & methodical sermons began to be relished. Hence his ministrations, towards the close of his life, became less acceptable. It was at this period that he put himself at the head of the party above mentioned, and relinquished his connection with the General Associate Synod. He was persuaded, it is said, to do so by the flatteries of one or more of his elders, who imposing upon the infirmities of age, induced him to believe that if he did so his church would again become the centre of many congregations, and he himself would stand at the head of a very large array of adherents. The result, however, at no distant period, disappointed entirely such prognostications. The building which was to be the resort of a multitudinous convocation is now razed to the ground, and the party which was to be aggrandised is now become extinct, at least has no longer any place of meeting or any public and independent worship in this province of the country. Yet the good man, we have no doubt, felt not the pang of this disappointment, for during a short space strangers resorted to the scene of his ministrations, and not long after his separation from his former connection, he died in a good old age, and we doubt not in the well founded hope of a blessed immortality.

Previous to the origination of this unhappy & unimportant controversy, the Secession in the district had greatly prevailed, and was very popular. Elsewhere, however, it had met with opposition, and had to struggle with difficulties. The upper classes of society, especially the heritors and patrons of parishes, were against it almost universally. The Government of the day had also been invoked, though in vain to put it down. A pamphlet was published by a leading minister of the church purporting to prove by calculations & arguments that all that was contributed to the building of churches or manses by the adherents of the new church must of necessity be extracted from the pockets of the Landlords & Farmers through the

medium of the wages of the servants of the one and the profits of the other, and of course that the Seceders of both classes ought to be repudiated. But the chief check to the progress of the Secession arose from the fierce dispute, and consequent separation, which grew out of the question concerning the lawfulness of the Burgess oaths imposed in certain Burghs in order to enjoy the benefit of the municipal privileges. Previous to this period the powerful stream of the principles of the Secession, and particularly of the popularity of its ministers was carrying all before it; but afterwards being divided, its force was greatly weakened, and the people in many cases, being either scattered abroad or returning in considerable numbers at least to their former connection with the establishment.

Now happily the Secession Church is again united, and has prospered exeeedingly, embracing about five hundred congregations in her communion, and diffusing throughout our country doctrines and a spirit favourable to orthodox sentiments, faithful discipline, religious liberty, & pure communion.

Of late a new Secession has arisen, though resting at present on narrower grounds than the old. Arrayed, however, in support of Ministerial, as well as Christian liberty, and of the supreme headship of Christ over His own Church, it coincides in leading principles with the former Secession, & we trust will, under the guidance and blessing of God, when her arrangements are finished, work out the perfect frcedom of her ministers & people, and co-operate with the previous movement in accomplishing the entire reformation of the National Church, and in spreading the light of the glorious gospel through the length and breadth of our beloved land, as well as abroad in the world.[1]

The facts above specified may serve in some measure to correct and to circumscribe a prejudiee which is apt to prevail—whieh grows in truth out of the best principles

[1] The Disruption of the Church of Scotland took place in 1843, the year before Dr. Mitchell's death.

of our natural affections, but which like its opposite is liable to be carried beyond due bounds. As on the one hand our love of novelty and innovation is apt to depreciate everything that is ancient, and to despise and reject it merely because it is ancient, so on the other our veneration for antiquity is prone to run into excess, to despise what is modern, and almost to consecrate what belongs to the olden time. Both sentiments are excessive, each requires to be restricted. The wisest of men has taught us to do so in the latter case :—for he admonishes us in the passage which we have selected as our motto ' Say not why are ' the former days better than these ? ' (stating the assumption affirmatively, but adding, correcting it by his negative) ' thou doest not enquire rightly concerning this matter,' i.e. if thou hadst searched properly, and examined the records of ancient times exactly, thou wouldst have seen cause to correct and circumscribe this opinion. And these reminiscences will be in part subservient to this important purpose. For upon the comparison of the two states of society in a province of our own country at the extremes of this long interval have we not seen reason to conclude that an improvement has taken place in very many respects—in particular and beyond the mere courtesies of life which are more refined, that our manners have become more pure—there is less of fiery and intemperate zeal—the common language of society is more delicate—drinking customs are abandoned—revels and carousals are less frequent—church going habits are more generally diffused, and liberality, in the shape of beneficence to the poor, and to other objects of great public interest, is exceedingly increased.

INDEX

Abercatie (Abericacy, Aberitacy), vicar of, 46 and *n*, 76 ; sheaves of, 47.
Aberchirder (Aberkerchor), vicar of, 45 and *n*.
Abercorn, vicar of, 48, 72.
Abercrombie (Abercrimsby, Abercrumby, Aberimilay), church of, 37 and *n*, 48 and *n*, 64.
Aberdeen (Abden, Abderden, Aberdon, Alberdon), earl of, *see* Gordon, Sir George.
——, bishopric of, receipts from, 26, 40-4, 65-8 ; bishop of, 44, 68.
——, brothers of Holy Trinity of, 42 and *n*, 67.
——, canon of, *see* Carnach, Mr. David ; Lauder, Thomas.
——, church of, 42 ; curator of, 43 and *n*, 66 ; calendar of saints' days and obit book of, 108. *See also* St. Nicholas.
——, common churches of, chapter of, 42, 67.
——, dean of, 42, 67.
——, deanery of, receipts from, 42, 67
——, minister of, *see* Cant, Mr. Andrew.
Aberdeenshire, M.P. for, 224-5.
Aberfoyle (Aberful, Aberpul), church of, 54, 71
Aberlady (Aberlefdi), vicar of, 48, 72.
Aberlethnot (Abbuchenocht, Abertriuchenoch), church of, 63, 64. *And see* Aberloth ; Arbirlot.
Aberloth, church of, 37 and *n*, 38 and *n*.
Aberlour (Aberloghor), church of, 44.
Abernethie (Abernithi, Abernythi), Moray diocese, church of, 45 and *n*, 77 ; vicar of, 45 ; parish of, 46 *n*.
Abernethy (Abernithi, Abernychi, Abernythi), Dunblane diocese, church of, 53, 71 ; vicar of, 53, 71 ; priory of Augustinian canons at, 53 and *n*, 81 *n* ; prior of, 71 ; origin of collegiate church of, 81 and *n* ; canon of, *see* Coventre, Walter de ; Roger.
Abernyte (Abernith), church of, 48, 72.
Abertarf, vicar of, 46.
Aberuthven (Aberothen, Aberothenyn), vicar of, 53 and *n* ; 71.
Aboyne (Obein, Obeyn), church of, 41, 65 ; vicar of, 65.
Admiralty, queries regarding rights of, in Forth, 133 and *n*.
Advocate, Lord, *see* Lord Advocate.
Africa, knowledge of, 284.
Agriculture, in 18th-century Ayrshire, 248, 268-72. *See also* Estate Improvement.
Aird, Mr. James, preaches at Carluke and Dalserf, 236 and *n*.
Airlie, James, 2nd earl of, 163 and *n*.
Airth (Hert), vicar of, 56.
Alban, bishopric of, 18.
Albemarle, duke of, *see* Monck, General.
Aldbar (Aldebar), church of, 37.
Aldcambus (Aldecamburg, Wldecambus), church of, 35 ; vicar of, 35, 59 (2) ; lands of, excambed by Dunfermline Abbey, 102.
Aldhame (Adham, Aldham, Halaham), church of, 33, 57, 58.
Aldhamstocks (Adhamstok, Aldhamstokis), executor of rector (Lord John), of, 34 and *n*, 57.
Alexander III., king of Scots, 6 ; forbids export of money, 8, 9 ; death of, 9, 11 *n* ; limits of kingdom of, 16-17 ; takes goods of Ross *sede vacante*, 49.
Alexander VI., pope, bull of, 86.
Alford (Afford), vicar of, 41, 66.
Alice, James, secession minister of Paisley, son of John A., of Blairngone, 319, 331.
Alice, John, of Blairngone, daughter of, wife of Rev. Andrew Mitchell, 319.

Allison, David, schoolmaster of Beith, 249, 274-5.
Alloa, secession minister of, *see* Moncrieff, William.
Alness (Alenesse, Alnesse), church of, 50 ; vicar of, 51.
Alter, vicar of, 51 and *n*.
Altyre (Althir), church of, 45, 77.
Aluith [? Alva], church of, 48 and *n*.
Alva, 48 *n*. *And see* Aluith.
Alvah (Alueth, Aueth), church of, 43, 66.
Alvie, in Strathspey, (Alueth, Alweth in Scraospe), church of, 44 ; vicar of, 44, 76.
America, knowledge of, 284 ; export of thread from Scotland to, 290.
Amusements, in 18th-century Ayrshire, 249-50, 286-8.
Anabaptists, *see* Baptists.
Anand, Adam de, 40.
' Andersonian University,' Glasgow, 275.
Anderston, secession church of, 246-7 ; minister of, *see* Mitchell, Dr. John.
Andrew, *see* Inchbrayock, rector of ; Moray, bishopric of.
Anglesey, earl of, appeal of, to committee of privileges, 168 and *n* ; on English commission for Union, 232, 235.
Angus, earl of, bearer of crown, 221.
——, William, author of text-books, 273 and *n*.
——, deanery of, 12, 18.
——, formation of militia in, 165. *See also* Forfarshire.
Anjou, *see* Charles of Anjou.
Anne of Denmark, queen of Scotland, question of admiralty rights in her lordship of Dunfermline, 133 and *n*.
Antiburghers, churches of, at Beith and Duke Street, Glasgow, 245-6 ; controversy between Burghers and, 333.
Anwoth (Anewich), vicar of, 74 ; minister of, *see* Rutherford, Samuel.
Apostolic Camera (Camera of the Pope), 25, 28 ; clerk of, *see* Veçano, Mr. Geoffrey de.
—— See, mandate of, 27. *See also* Curia ; Pope ; Rome.
Applecross (Ablecrosse), church of, 50.
Arabia, knowledge of, 284.
Aragon, Don John goes to, 167.
Arbirlot (Abirheloth), vicar of, 63. *And see* Aberloth.
Arbroath (Abberbroth, Abberbrothoc, Abberbrothok, Abberrochoc, Abbrochoc, Aberbrothoc, Alberrothoc), abbot of, 36, 40, 47, 52, 53, 64, 65, 68, 69, 70.
Archpriest, office of, in Scotland and England, 83. *See also* Dunbar, archpriestship of.
Ardeonaig (Ardeunan, Ardoueny, Erdonny), church of, 47, 73.
Ardersier (Ardrosser), church of, 49.
Argyll, Archibald, 9th earl of, Lauderdale's efforts to assist, 166, 181-2, 186, 188 and *n*, 189, 218-9 ; command of, in militia, 182 ; agreement between Newbattle and, 196 ; his father, 196 ; dines with Lauderdale, 209 ; position of, in difficulties in Highlands, 214 ; on committee regarding negotiations for Union, 223.
——, bishopric of, receipts from, 26, 53, 68.
Argyllshire, command of militia in, 159.
Arlington, Henry Bennet, Lord, 189 and *n*, 214 ; on English commission for Union, 222, 227-9, 237 ; at council of war, 239.
Arndilly (Artildol), church of, 45 and *n*, 77.
Arngask (Andisgros, Ardengrost), church of, 37 and *n*, 64.
Arnot, William, major, 156.
Arran, 326-7.
Articles, Lords of the, composition of the, 221, 224 ; meeting of, 223.
Ashley, Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Lord, 190 and *n*, 208 ; on English commission for Union, 237-8.
Asia Minor, knowledge of, 284.
Assembly, *see* General Assembly.
Associate Synod, General, 323-4, 332. *See also* Secession Church.
Assynt (Ascend), prebend of, 51 ; vicar of, 69.
Asti, canon of, *see* Bagimond.
Atholl, John, earl of, grant to, 193, 195, 196, 204, 212, 217, 219 ; on commission for audit of accounts, 210.

Attorney General, on commission for Union, 232 and *n*, 235.
Auand, Lord Andrew de, 64.
Auchindoir (Danandore, Ranandor), church of, 41, 66.
Auchterarder (Hughterardor, Hughterardur), vicar of, 54, 71; parish of, 53 *n*.
Auchtergaven, parish of, 47 *n*, 49 *n*.
Auchterhouse (Hugterhus, Huterus), vicar of, 48, 72.
Auchterless (Hugterlis, Oteerlis), church of, 41, 67.
Auchtermuchty (Huctermukedy, Hughtermukedy), church of, 38, 60.
Auchtermunaie (Huchtermunai), church of, 37.
Audley end, 164.
Augustinian canons, priory of, at Abernethy, 53 and *n*, 81 *n*.
Australia, knowledge of, 284.
Avoch (Anagh), church of, 50; vicar of, 50.
Ayr, 277-8; presbytery of, 324-5; public library of, 325; secession congregation founded at, 330; secession minister of, *see* Taylor, James.
——, River, 255.
Ayrshire, rising in, 143; description of social conditions of, in 18th century, 243 *et seq.*; persecution of Covenanters in, 249, 263, 280-1; emigration of Presbyterian ministers from, 263-4; smuggling on coast of, 290-1.
Ayton, Sir Robert, 209.
——, 60 *n*. *And see* Eachen.

Bagimond (Mr. Baiamundus (Boyamundus) de Vicia, canon of Asti), papal collector, sent to Scotland, 3, 5 ff., 14-15, 30; Rome dissatisfied with, 8-9, 15; death of, 10; examination of Bagimond's Roll, 11 ff.; Bagimond's statement in Curia, 25 ff., 65; his salary, 27, 32; memorandum anent aceount of, 65.
Bagimond's Roll, compared with other so-called Bagimond's Rolls, 11-14; critical study of, 14 ff.; later adaptations of, 19; place-names in, 21.
Bagshott, Charles II. at, 140.
Baird, Sir John, of Newbyth, lord of session, 173 and *n*; added to commission for valuations, 192.
——, Robert, added to commission for valuations, 192.
Ballantine (Bannatine), *see* Bellenden.
Balmaghie, 75 *n*.
Balquhidder (Buthfuder), church of, 53, 71.
Baltic states, knowledge of, 284.
Banchory-Devenick (Benchorideneueth, Benchorideueueth), church of, 42, 67.
Banchory-Ternan (Benchoritarny, Benchortarny), vicar of, 42, 67.
Banff (Banf), vicar of, 43, 66.
Baptists, 250, 298.
Barewan, 45 *n*.
Barnet, 227.
Barony, Beith a burgh of, 269; bailie of, 278.
Barri, Thomas de, canon of Glasgow and Dunbar, 86.
Bass, purchase of the, 161.
Bathgate (Backec, Bathkit, Wackec), vicar of, 34, 55, 56.
Beath, conventicle held at, 230.
Beauly (Bello Loco), prior of, 46, 76; prior and convent of, 49; priory of, 51 *n*.
Bedesmen, subjeet to jurisdiction of chapters, 108.
Bega (Beya), St., patron saint of parish ehurch of Dunbar, 82 *n*.
Beith, secession church of, 245 and *n*, 330; in Cunningham, 255; description of social life of, 277-8, 291-7 *et seq.*; industries in, 288-91; smuggling and illicit distillation at, 290-1; relations between secession and establishcd churches in, 299; parish minister of, *see* (1) Colville, George, (2) M'Lellan, Mr. David, (3) Witherspoon, Dr. John; secession minister of, *see* Mitchell, Andrew; schoolmaster of, *see* Allison, David.
Belgium, smuggling of goods from, 290.
Bellenden, of Broughton, William Lord, commissioner for Duke of Monmouth, 129 *n*, 130, 134 and *n*, 138, 149, 150; Lauderdale wishes to obtain place of, for his brother, 168-9; Lauderdale's irritation at, and desire to remove

from Treasury, 172-3, 175, 178, 180, 182; gift to, from excise, 176; request by, to Lauderdale, 195; Lauderdale's answer to, and opinion of, 197; to meet Tweeddale, 233.
Bellenden (Ballantine, Bannatine), Sir William, 142 and *n*, 152, 157, 203, 206, 211.
Belton, township of, prebend of Dunbar, 84, 93, 99; appropriated to Chapel Royal, 86, 106; relation of Hedderwick and, 103, 106; value of rectory of, 106; prebendary of, *see* Preston, Mr. William.
Bendaghtyn [? Bendochy], church of, 48.
Benholme (Benum), church of, 37, 38 *n*, 63, 64.
Benvie (Haneuile), church of, 21, 39 and *n*.
Berard, of Naples, papal chamberlain, 4, 25, 31; cardinal, 65.
Bere-Ferrers, chantry foundation at, 83.
Bernardini de Senis, Bonaventura, firm of, 28, 31.
Berne MS., 11 *n*.
Bernham, David de, bishop of St. Andrews, 102, 103, 104.
Berwick (Beruyk, Berwnc, Berwyc, Berwyk, Berwyo), 158.
——, church of Holy Trinity of, brothers of, 59, 60.
——, vicar of, 35, 58, 59.
Berwickshire, 18, 20.
Bethelnie (Botheleny, Butheleny), vicar of, 41 and *n*, 67.
Biggar, John, of Woolmet, suggested for command in militia, 159 and *n*.
——, collegiate church of, 81; functions of vicar-pensioner of, 105.
Birnie (Brennagh), church of, 46.
Birse (Brass, Brasse), church of, 41, 66.
Bisset, Cecilia, 51 *n*.
——, John, 44 *n*.
'Black Agnes,' *see* Randolph, Agnes.
Blackadder, Mr. John, minister of Troqueer, 230.
Blackford, parish of, *see* Strageich.
Blair (Blar, Blare), church of, 37, 39, 40, 62 (2).
Blair Athol (Blar, Blarbrid), church of, 47, 73 and *n*; parish of, 47 *n*.
Blairgowrie, *see* Blair.
Blida, William de, parson of Chirnside, 104.
Boharm, *see* Arndilly.
Bolton (Boltun, Boultoun), vicar of, 33, 57, 58.
Bonnet-making, at Stewarton, 288.
Books, used in school, 273-4; in private libraries, 249, 281-2, 305.
Bordeaux, British consul at, *see* English, Sir David.
Borgue (Borg), vicar of, 74; parish of, 74 *n*.
Borrowstonness, illicit trade between Rotterdam and, 190.
Borthwick, William, lieutenant-colonel, 156-7.
——, ——, rector of Pitcox, 107.
——, *see* Lochorwart.
Bosco, Mr. S. de, 42.
Boston, Thomas, minister of Ettrick, work by, 282 and *n*, 309.
Botarie (Duthary), prebendary of, 46.
Bothans (Bochans), church of, 33 and *n*, 57, 58; collegiate church of, 81; provost of, *see* Waltersoun, Mr. Robert.
Bothen (Buthen), *see* Boyne.
Botherker [? Buttergill], church of, 52 and *n*.
Bothwell, Adam Hepburn, earl of, charter to, 103, 107.
Botriphnie (Butruthi), church of, 44.
Bourtie (Bourdi), vicar of, 41, 67.
Boyar, Lady, 154 and *n*.
Boyne (Bothan, Buthen), deanery of, 43 and *n*; receipts from, 43-44; 66.
Brachollie (Brantheli, Branthely), church of, 44, 76; vicar of, 44, 76.
Brad, R. de (Radulph de Brade), pension of, 38 and *n*.
Brechin (Brekyn), Adam de, 53.
——, archdeacon of, 52, 70 (2).
——, bishopric of, 36; receipts from 26, 52-3, 69-70; bishop of, 69.
——, chancellor of, 52, 70.
——, dean of, *see* Carnach, Mr. David.
——, hospital of (Domus Dei), master of, 70 and *n*.
——, parish and lordship of, 52 *n*.
——, precentor of, 52.
——, presbytery of, 48 *n*.
——, treasurer of, 52.

Brechin (Brekyn), vicar of, 53, 70.
Bridgman, Sir Orlando, *see* Lord Keeper.
British Critic magazine, 283.
Brown, John, of Wamphray, 146 *n*.
Bruce, Robert, king of Scots, tradition of, 249, 281.
——, Mr. Michael, sentence on, 207.
——, Sir William, architect, to consult with Moray about Tweeddale's houses, 233.
Bruntfield (Bromfeild), Thomas, grant of bastardy of, 179 and *n*.
Buccleuch, Mary, countess of, dispute regarding inheritance of, 131-2. Her husband, *see* Tarras, Walter, earl of.
——, Anna, duchess of, marriage of, to duke of Monmouth, 129-30; appears as an actress, 153 and *n*; signs paper for Earl of Dumfries, 202.
——, James, duke of, *see* Monmouth, James, duke of.
——, Walter, 1st earl of, his children's claims to his estate, 130-1; financial tangle between Tweeddales and family of, 130-3, 139-40.
Buchan, Alexander, earl of, justiciar of Scotland, 44 *n*.
—— (Bughan, Buthan), deanery of, receipts from, 43, 67-8.
Buchanan, Dr. Claudius, 247.
Buckingham, George, duke of, takes part in negotiations for Union, 168 and *n*, 170, 229, 235 (?); Morton's affairs and, 203-4; returns from Paris, 228.
Buittle (Bothel), church of, 74; vicar of, 74.
Bunkle (Bonkel), parish of, 18; vicar of, 72.
Bunyan, John, his *Pilgrim's Progress*, 249, 282.
Burgher controversy, in secession church, 333. *See also* Antiburghers.
Burnet, Alexander, archbishop of Glasgow ('Longifacies'), 148 and *n*, 149, 151, 154, 155, 160, 163, 199, 217, 236 *n*.
——, Gilbert, professor of divinity and bishop of Salisbury, 142 *n*; his work against Presbyterians, 233, 236; visits Tweeddale, 238-239. His wife, *see* Kennedy, Lady Margaret.
Burns, Robert, 278, 280.
Buttergill, 52 *n*. *And see* Botherker.

Caithness, George, 6th earl of, remission for, 165, 170.
——, bishopric of, 18; receipts from, 26, 51-2, 68-69; bishop of, 51, 68; vicar of bishop of, 52, 69.
——, chancellor of, 18, 51, 69.
——, dean of, 69; dean and chapter of, 16, 51 *n*.
——, precentor of, 18, 51 and *n*, 69.
——, treasurer of, 18, 51 and *n*, 69.
Calderwood, David, his *History*, 249, 282 and *n*.
Calfargie, *see* Culfargie.
Callander, parish of, 54 *n*. *And see* Kilmachog.
Calvin, John, works of, 309.
Cambridge, lords of session to visit, 235.
Cambuskenneth (Cambuskinel, Cambuskynel, Kambuskinel), monastery of, 40 *n*, 55 *n*, 73 *n*; procurator of, 34; abbot of, 39, 53, 55, 64, 69, 71, 72.
Cameron of Lochiel, *see* Lochiel.
Cametays, church of, 63. *And see* Tannadice.
Campbell, Sir Colin, of Aberuchill, 195.
——, Colin, of Lochnell, suggested for command in militia, 159 and *n*.
——, James, of Silvercraigs, Dr. John Mitchell tutor to children of, 299.
——, John, of Fordie, to receive payment from Argyll's debt, 186; gift to, 208.
——, John, 196.
Campvere, Scottish trade with, 167 *n*.
Candida Casa, *see* Galloway.
Canisbay (Cananby, Cranesby), prebend of, 51, 68.
Canongate, Tales of the, 260.
Canons, at Abernethy, 81 *n*; regulation at Dunbar for residence of, and pluralism among, 85-6; distinction between, and prebendaries, 105; duties of, 105; provisions for income of, from common funds, 107; conduct of, supervised by chapters, 108.

Cant, Mr. Andrew, minister of Aberdeen, and moderator of Assembly, 149 and *n*.
Canterbury, archbishop of, 163.
——, clergy of province of, 6.
Caputh (Cathbathac, Cathbethac), prebend of, 48 and *n*, 73.
Cardross, David Erskine, Lord, 180 and *n*.
Cargill, Donald, covenanter, 280.
Carlisle, bishop of, *see* Halton, John de.
Carluke, 236.
Carmelites, of Irvine, 108.
Carnach, Mr. David, dean of Brechin, canon of Dunkeld and Aberdeen, rector of Dunbar, 106.
Carnbee (Garnebrin, Karneby), 21 ; vicar of, 37, 62.
Carnegie, Robert, Lord, seeks military command, 149 and *n*, 151, 159 ; his regiment, 163 *n*.
——, James, of Balnamoon, lieutenant-colonel to Lord Carnegie, 159.
Carnesmole (Carnemal), church of, 75 and *n*.
Carnock (Karnock), church of, 37.
Carpet-weaving, at Kilmarnock, 288.
Carrick, extent of, 255 ; emigration of Presbyterian ministers from, 263-4.
Carriden (Karedyn), vicar of, 33.
Cash-keeper, H.M., *see* Sharp, Sir William.
Cassillis, John, 6th earl of, writes to Lauderdale, 152 ; his son, 152.
——, John, 7th earl of, opposition of, to Lauderdale, 161-2 ; Tweeddale to reassure, 170 ; course to be followed concerning, 171 ; speaks to king, 223.
——, Susanna, countess of, with William, duke of Hamilton, her brother-in-law, 145 and *n*, 157-8.
Castlemaine, countess of, 203-4, 228.
Castles, in Ayrshire, 260.
Castlesemple, improvements carried out on estate of, 256.
Castrum Plebis, 31.
Catherine, of Braganza, queen of England, 160, 235.
Catterline (Katerlyn, Kateryn), vicar of, 52, 70 (2).
Cattle, tax on Scottish, entering England, 182 and *n*, 192.
Cavendish, Lord Henry, 2nd duke of Newcastle, his son, 116, 179.
Cawdor, 45 *n*.
Celtic Church, Roman system superimposed upon, 17-18.
Ceres (Syrais), church of, 39 ; rector of, *see* Makerston, Mr. Adam de.
Chambers, Robert (?), *Tales of the Canongate* by, 260.
Chancellor, Lord, *see* Rothes, earl of.
Channelkirk (Childechircke, Childenchirc, Childewyrth), vicar of, 34, 59 (2).
Chantry priests, colleges of, 83.
Chapel of Garioch, 40 *n*.
Chapel Royal, Stirling, 83 ; erection of, and appropriation of canonries of Dunbar to, 86, 102, 104-6.
Charing Cross, Lauderdale's residence at, 114, 162, 167.
Charles II., king of Great Britain, 114 ; Lauderdale's loyalty to, 115 ; defeat of, at Worcester, 115 ; at wedding of Lauderdale's daughter and Lord Yester, 115 ; Lauderdale's subservience to, 119 ; his desire for union of England and Scotland, 120 ; illness of, 125 ; attitude of, to France, 129-30 ; opinions of, on Buccleuch affairs, 129-32 ; with the fleet, 130 ; his account of decision regarding raising and payment of troops in Scotland, 137-8 ; position of, in the government, 141 ; attitude of, to Dalyell, 143 ; Rothes's conference with, regarding his offices, 144 ; Hamilton's attempts to obtain favour of, 145-7, 158 ; cancels commissions, 146 and *n* ; memorial of, regarding covenanting writers in Holland, 146-7 ; pleased with Privy Council's proceedings, 148 ; Lauderdale's intrigues with, 149 ; power of, to break a judicial decreet, 151 ; consents to Lauderdale's desires, 152 ; pleased with Tweeddale's letter, 153 ; approves Moray's proposed tour of investigation, 154 and *n* ; at launching of the *Charles*, 157 ; dispenses with Navigation Act, 158 ; approves levying of troops for service abroad, 160, 162 ; wishes of, regarding salt tax and other matters, 161-2, 175 ; at New-

market, 162, 164, 170; his reception of Sharp, 164; to be warned to withhold grants of pensions, 171; question of customs to be submitted to, 171-2, 185-6; reasons for his prorogation of Parliament, 178; threat to life of, 181; his views on grants to Argyll, 181, 182, 186, 188-9; willing to receive Lauderdale despite smallpox, 184; consents to policy suggested regarding customs and forfeiture of rebels, 187, 193, 202-3; token of his favour to Tweeddale, 194; makes changes in government of Ireland, 203; approves plan for West of Scotland, 207-8; goes to Lambeth from Newmarket, 209; told of proposal concerning Hawick, 211; his desire to consult Tweeddale about religious policy, 211-12; his measures for quieting dissent, 216; on progress to Sheerness, 217; his commands to Lauderdale for conduct of Parliament, 220-2; opposes Lauderdale's wishes, 223; debate on Parliament's reply to, anent the Union, 223-5; his commands on negotiations for Union, 228; Scots commissioners unwilling to proceed with negotiations in his absence, 233, 235; attitude of, to questions of Union, 238; inspects French forces, 239; honours Lauderdale, 240.

Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily, loan to, 5, 15, 30-1.

Charles Edward Stewart, prince, 281.

Charles, launching of the, 157.

Chatham, Charles, and Lauderdale at, 217.

Cheese-making, at Dunlop, 248, 271-2.

Chester, minister at, *see* Henry, Matthew.

Chiesly, Sir John, of Carsewell, 209 and *n*.

China, knowledge of, 284.

Chirnside (Cherynsyd, Chirnesid, Chirnissede), church of, 35, 60; annexed as prebend of Dunbar, 84, 90, 94, 98-100, 104; vicar of, 94, 99; dedication of, 104; rectors of, 104; value of, 104.

Chirnside (Cherynsyd, Chirnesid, Chirnissede), lands of, grants of, to Humes, 104; prebend of, in collegiate church of Dunglass, 104.

Chitterflat, Caldwell, assembly of Covenanters at, 143 *n*.

Church of Scotland, Tweeddale's paper concerning, 211-12; discussion of terms of draft act anent, 220; secessions from, 245 *n*, 251, 301, 333 and *n*; state of, in 18th century, 301-3; character of eldership of, 305-6; controversies in, 328 *n*, 333. *See also* Clergy; Covenanters; Scottish Church.

Circulorum de Florencia, societas, 29.

Citadel, of Leith, sold by Lauderdale to Edinburgh, 133-4.

Clackmannan (Clacmana, Clacmanan, Clatmanan), Lord J. de, prebend of, 54.

——, vicar of, 37, 62.

Clairvaux, abbot of, 63 *n*.

Clarendon, Edward Hyde, 1st earl of, impeachment of, 144-5, 195.

Clatt (Clat), church of, 42.

Cleish (Cles), vicar of, 38, 61.

Clemens (Clement), chaplain, 54, 71.

Clergy, measures against nonconformist, 115, 119, 212; unrest among, in the west, 163; purge of, by synod of Glasgow, 236; emigration of, from Ayrshire, 263-4. *See also* Church; Covenanters.

Clerk, Sir John, vicar-pensioner of Duns, 104.

—— Register, Lord, 223.

Clerkington (Clerkincon, Crekinton), church of, 57 and *n*, 58.

Cleveland, duchess of, *see* Castlemaine, countess of.

Clifford, Sir Thomas, 221; to be told of proceedings anent the Union, 226; on English commission for Union, 228, 237; at council of war, 239.

Cloud of Witnesses, 249, 282 and *n*, 305.

Cluny (Cleyn, Clony), Aberdeen diocese, vicar of, 41.

——, Dunkeld diocese, church of, 73.

Clyde, firth of, 326.

Clydesdale, formation of troop of horse in, 165.

Clyne, prebend of, 51 *n*.
Coal, export and import of, 173, 221-2.
Cochrane, William, Lord, commissioner for Duke of Monmouth, 129 *n*, 132 and *n*; commissioner of Treasury, 175 and *n*; added to commission for valuations, 192; Lauderdale's letter to, on lease of revenue, 201; created Earl of Dundonald, 208, 211; his wish for the earldom of Glasgow, 212; to meet Tweeddale, 233.
Cockburn, Mr. Patrick, rector of Pitcox, 107.
Cockburnspath, parish of, 34 *n*, 35 *n*.
Cockpen (Cokepen, Cokespen, Cotpen), church of, 35, 55, 58.
Coldingham (Coldingeham), prior of, 35, 65.
Colinton, *see* Hailes.
Collace (Culas, Cules, Cullas), church of, 38, 65; vicar of, 38.
Collectors of shires, to be called to account, 176; of revenue appointed, 194-5.
Collegiate churches, in Scotland, foundation-charters of, 81; development of, 81; Culdee communities and, 81-2; constitution of, in Scotland and England, 82-83; schools and hospitals in, 85; residence of clergy at, 85-6; vestments of clergy of, 105; duties of clergy of, 105; provisions regarding insignia, etc., of, 108-9.
Collessie (Cullassy), vicar of, 63.
Collingwood, Mr. Daniel (?), 171 and *n*.
Colquhoun, Sir John, of Luss, made lieutenant-colonel, 182. *See also* Culquhone.
Colston, E. Lothian, 128 and *n*.
Colstone (Colecoyn, Colessen), church of, 42, 65.
Colvend (Clotfent), church of, 75.
Colville, George, minister of Beith, 245, 278 *n*.
Commissioner, to Scottish Parliament, *see* Lauderdale, earl of; Rothes, earl of.
Commissioners, for Union. *see* Union.
Commons, House of, business of, 154.
Comrie (Cumery), church of, 54, 71.
Conplande, dom. J. de, prebend of, 71.
Contin (Conteyne), church of, 50.
Conventicles, proclamation against, 214; caution to be taken from ministers not to hold, 230.
Conveth, Coneuay (Coneuech, Conevay, Conevech, Conueth), in deanery of Linlithgow, church of, 56.
——, in Mearns, church of, 33 and *n*.
——, Moray diocese, vicar of, 46, 76.
——, in archdeaconry of St. Andrews, church of, 64.
Corsane, John, of Sennick, cancellation of bond by, 151, 155.
Cotton-spinning, at Beith, 250, 289.
Coull (Cule), church of, 18; vicar of, 41, 65.
Council, *see* Privy Council; Session.
—— of State, Lauderdale's petition to, for release, 121-5.
—— of Trade, functions of, 141 and *n*; meeting of, regarding Navigation Act, 148; Lauderdale at, 197. *See also* Trade.
Coupar, James, Lord, 186 and *n*.
—— Abbey, 39 *n*.
Covenanters, action against, 115, 119, 146-7, 149, 150, 212; forfeitures of, 143 and *n*, 187, 191, 202-3; to be transported, 166, 171; one of, captured in Ireland, 196-7; Lady Margaret Kennedy's intervention on behalf of, 204; measures for quieting and Lauderdale's opinion of, 215-16, 219; persecution of, in Ayrshire, 249, 263, 280-1. *See also* Church; Clergy; Nonconformists.
Coventre, Walter de, canon of Abernethy, 81 *n*.
Coventry, Sir William, dismissed from Council and Treasury, 208.
Craig, *see* Inchbrayock.
Craigie (Craghyn, Cragi), prebend of, 49, 73.
Crail (Karal, Karale), vicar of, 34, 62.
Cramond (Caramunth, Caremund), vicar of, 48, 72.
Cranston (Craneston, Craniston), vicar of, 34, 58.
Crathie (Creghi, Grethy), church of, 41, 66.
Crawford, John, 17th earl of, 122 and *n*, 124.

Creich (Crecch), church of, 38, 61.
——, prebend of, 51 *n*.
Crichton, Mr. Abraham, rector of Chirnside, 104.
—— (Creccon, Crecton, Cristoun), church of, 34, 57, 58; collegiate church of, 81.
Crieff (Cref), prebend of, 49, 74; vicar of, 72, 74.
Crimond, parish of, 43 *n*.
Crofts, Lord, 200.
Cromwell, Oliver, Clarendon's correspondence with, 145; his chaplain, *see* Howe, John.
—— Richard, 169.
Crossmichael (Crosmighel), church of, 74.
Croy (Crony), prebend of, 45 and *n*.
Cruden (Crudan, Crudin), church of, 43, 68 (2).
Crugilton (Crugelton), church of, 75 and *n*; vicar of, 75.
Crusade tenths, 6, 8, 15. *And see* Holy Land.
Culdees, at St. Andrews and Abernethy, 81-2.
Culfargie, secession minister of, *see* Moncrieff, Alexander.
Cullen, collegiate church of, 81; regulations for holding chapter at, 108.
Cullicudden (Cultudyn, Culycudyn), church of, 50 and *n*; vicar of, 51.
Culquhone, Mr. Robert, rector of Dunbar, 106.
Culross, letter from Sir Robert Moray at, 144.
Culsalmond (Culsamuel), vicar of, 40, 67.
Culter, vicar of, 42, 67.
Cults (Quilt), church of, 37, 39, 62.
Cumyn, W., 68.
Cunbar, *see* Dunbar.
Cunningham, Mr. John, of Baidland, forfeiture of, 143 and *n*; captured in Ireland and to be sent to Scotland, 196-7.
——, John, younger, of Caldwell, grant to, 204, 208.
——, extent of, 255; cheese-making in, 248, 271-2.
Cupar (Cuipyr), vicar of, 36, 61.
Curia, Bagimond at, cited to, etc., 7, 9, 14, 30; transmission of money to, 15; remoteness of Scotland from, 16; Scottish officials at, 16. *See also* Pope; Rome.
Currie, *see* Kinleith.
Curuli of Florence, Societas, 29.
Cushnie (Quisseny), church of, 41 and *n*.
Customs, question of farming and collection of, 150 and *n*, 161 and *n*, 170-3, 175, 177, 185-6, 190, 193-5; effect of proposed Union on, 175, 238. *And see* Excise.

Dairsie (Dernesy, Deruesin, Doruesin), church of, 36 and *n*, 38, 60.
Dalcross (Dalcros, Daltres, Daltros), vicar of, 44, 77; church of, 46.
Dalkeith, parish of, 55 *n*; parochial altar in collegiate church of, 106.
Dallarossie (Dulergussi), church of, 45.
Dalmayock (Damoch), church of, 41 and *n*, 67.
Dalmeny (Dommanyn, Dumanyn, Dunmanyn), vicar of, 55, 57; church of, 55, 56.
Dalry (Dalri), church of, 74.
Dalserf (Deserf), 236.
Dalswinton, barony of, grant of, 168-9 and *n*; Maule of Melgund's opinion on, 169, 172, 177, 179, 205.
Dalyell (Dalzell), Thomas, of Binns, lieutenant-general, activities of, in London, 143 and *n*; to be informed of measures against Covenanters, 187; attempts to cause ill-feeling between Lauderdale and Drummond, 202-3.
David I., king of Scots, 13, 20.
—— II., king of Scots, 11.
——, bishop of St. Andrews, *see* Bernham, David de.
——, Mr., 42 and *n*, 66.
Davidson, Sir William, conservator of Scots privileges, 167 *n*, 173; his services to the king, 181; information from, regarding evasion of customs, 190.
Daviot (Deueth, Deweth), church of, 18, 45, 77; two mark lands of, 45, 77; vicar of, 45.
Dean, office of, in collegiate churches, 83. *See also* Dunbar, deanery of.
Deer (Der), church of, 42.
Desnes (Deesnes), deanery of, Galloway diocese, 17; receipts from, 74.

Dessenes, deanery of, Glasgow diocese, 17.
Devereux, system of logic and metaphysics, 329.
Dickson, Mr. John, minister of Rutherglen, 230.
——, Mr. Robert, M.P. for New Galloway, 224.
Dingwall (Dingenale), church of, 18, 50.
Dinnet, *see* Dunmeth.
Dipple (Duppol), prebend of, 46, 76.
Disruption, of Church of Scotland, approach of, 333 and *n*.
Dissenters, *see* Covenanters.
Don John, of Austria, writes to Duke of Hamilton, 153 ; goes to Aragon, 167.
Doncaster, 227.
Dores (Durres), vicar of, 44, 76.
Dort (Dordrecht), staple transferred to, 167 and *n* ; magistrates of, anxious to take Scottish coal and salt, 173.
Douglas, Archibald, 5th earl of, supplication by, for Robert Young, 101.
——, George, Lord, levies for regiment of, 160 and *n*, 162 ; his regiment, 211.
——, Jean, daughter of William, 6th earl of Morton, and wife of James, 3rd earl of Home, 125 *n*.
——, Mr. Robert, minister of Greyfriars, 164.
Dover, Charles II. to meet his sister at, 226 and *n* ; Dutch at, 239.
Dress, 18th century Scottish, 248, 262-7.
Dron (Drun, Druny), church of, 54, 71 ; vicar of, 54, 71.
Drummond, Lord, 193.
——, Mr. Malcolm, rector of Dunbar, 106.
——, William, of Cromlix, lieutenant-general, 1st Viscount Strathallan, 143 and *n* ; Tweeddale to act regarding, 170 ; to be informed of measures against Covenanters, 187 ; grant to, and Lauderdale's reassurances to, 202-3.
Drumoak, *see* Dalmayock.
Dryburgh (Driburg, Droburg), monastery of, procurator of, 34 ; abbot of, 36, 65.
Duddingston (Coingeston, Doddingestone), 34, 55 and *n*.
Dudhope, John, 3rd Viscount, *see* Dundee, earl of.
Dudistons, 171.
Duffus, chapel of, 45, 76 ; church of, 45, 76 ; vicar of, 45, 76.
Duke Street, Glasgow, antiburgher church of, 246.
Dull (Dul), church of, 47, 73.
Dumbartonshire, officers of militia in, 182.
Dumbennan (Dunbanan), prebendary of, 46 and *n* ; vicar of, 46.
Dumfries, William, 2nd earl of, 202.
Dun, vicar of, 40.
Dunbar (Cunbar), Columba de, dean of Dunbar and bishop of Moray, 104.
——, earls of, *see* March.
——, archpriestship of, 83 ; duties of and provision for, 84, 90-100 *passim* ; appropriated to Chapel Royal, 86, 105 ; right of presentation and institution to, 95, 100 ; value of, 104-5 ; functions of substitutes for holder of, 105 ; holders of, *see* Leirmonth, Sir James ; Otterburn, John ; Waltersoun, Mr. Robert ; Young, Robert.
——, church of, 33 and *n*, 57 and *n*, 58 ; affiliated chapels of, linked to collegiate church, 82, 90, 98, 102 ; dedication of, 82 *n* ; value of, 83 and *n* ; rector of, *see* Lemonktoun, Patrick de.
——, collegiate church of, foundation-charter of, 81 *et seq.* ; affiliated chapels of parish church linked to, 82, 90, 98, 102 ; institution and constitution of, 82 *et seq.* ; income of, and its distribution among the clergy of, 83-4 ; duties of clergy of, 84-5 ; song and grammar schools and hospital at, 85 ; regulation for residence of clergy of, and pluralism at, 85-6 ; patronage of, passes to Crown, 86 ; appropriation of canonries of, to Chapel Royal, 86, 102 ; structure and site of, and its maintenance, 86, 94, 99 ; patronage of, 94, 100.
——, deanery of, duties of, and provision for, 90-100 *passim* ; presentation and institution to, 95, 100 ; value of, 104 ; holders

of, *see* Dunbar, Columba de; Giffert, Mr. Alexander; Hepburn, Adam; Stewart, Alexander; Whitelaw, Mr. Archibald; Young, Robert.
Dunbar (Cunbar), parish of, extent of, 82.
——, prebend of, in collegiate church, 84, 92, 99, 106; appropriated to Chapel Royal, 86, 106; rectors and prebendaries of, 106.
—— Castle, siege of, 101; seized by Crown, 101.
Dunblane, archdeacon of, 54, 71.
——, bishopric of, 18, 19; receipts from, 26, 53-4, 70-2; bishop of, 16 *n*, 54, 72. *And see* Leighton, Mr. Robert.
——, parish of, 54 *n*.
——, treasurer of, 54.
Dunbog (Dunbloc, Dunbulg), vicar of, 37, 61.
Duncan, Alexander, of Lundie, 157 and *n*.
Dundee, John, earl of, 163 and *n*.
—— (Dunde), vicar of, 52, 70.
Dundonald, earl of, *see* Cochrane, Lord.
——, minister of, *see* Maxwell, Mr. Gabriel.
Dundurius (Dundurgus), vicar of, 44, 76.
Dunfermline, Charles, earl of, 193; at Hampton Court, 208; on commission for audit of accounts, 210; commission to, 222.
——, earls of, admiralty rights of, 133 and *n*.
—— (Dufermelyn, Dunfermelin, Dunfermelyn) Abbey, abbot and convent of, collectors under Bishop Halton, 13; pension from, 38; abbot of, 39, 64, 73; lands of Aldcambus excambed by, 102; admiralty rights of, 133 and *n*.
——, minister of, *see* Erskine, Ralph.
Dunglass, barony of, 34 *n*.
——, collegiate church of, 81; endowments derived by, from Chirnside, 104; endowment derived by, from Pinkerton, 106; financial arrangements in, 107; patron of, *see* Hume, Sir Alexander, 1st Lord.
Dunino (Donethae, Dunenath, Duninaght, Dunuenanth), church of, 37, 39, 40, 62.
Dunkeld, barony of, 48 *n*.
Dunkeld, bishopric of, 18-19; collector of, 13 *n*; receipts from, 47-9, 72-4; bishop of, 49, 72, 74, 107.
——, canon of, *see* Carnach, Mr. David; Preston, Thomas de.
——, chancellor of, 48, 74.
——, common churches of, 49, 74.
——, prebends of dean, sub-dean, precentor and treasurer of, 48, 49 *n*, 73.
Dunlichty (Lundechi, Lundethy), church of, 46, 76.
Dunlop, cheese-making at, 248, 271-2, 255.
Dunmeth [? Dinnet], church of, 41.
Dunnet (Dunost), prebend of, 51; church of, 69.
Dunning (Dunyn, Duny), vicar of, 54, 71.
Duns (Dons), hospital of, 33.
——, parish church of, annexed as prebend of Dunbar, 84, 90, 94, 98-100, 103; appropriated to Chapel Royal, 86, 104; vicar of, 94, 99; parsons and rectors of, 103-4; value of, 104.
Dunstable, 227.
Dupplin (Duppeli), church of, 54.
Durham (Dunelm), prior of, 36, 227.
Durness (Durnes), church of, 52, 68.
Durno (Durnach, Durnagh), vicar of, 40, 67.
Durris (Aurres, Dinres), church of, 21, 36, 60.
Dutch, Spaniards expected to oppose French assistance to, 128-9; naval battle between English and, 138-9; illicit trade of, with Scotland, 190; English and French fleets unite against, 239. *See also* Holland; Low Countries.
Duthil (Dothal), prebendary of, 46.
Dyke (Dike), vicar of, 45.
Dysart, Elizabeth Murray, countess of, and second wife of Earl of Lauderdale, 118-19; bereavements of, 119 and *n*, 192-3, 198; in London, 228. Her husband, *see* Tollemache, Sir Lionel. Her sister, *see* Murray, Lady Katherine.
—— (Disard, Dysard), church of, 37, 62.

Eachen [? Aytoun], church of, 60 and *n*.
Earl's Stradichty (Strathegoin Comitis, Trinchegem Comitis), vicar of, 36, 63.

Earlston (Erceldoun, Erchildon, Ersledun), vicar of, 34, 59 (2).
Eassie (Essi, Essy), church of, 40, 62.
East Calder (Caldorcler, Caledon Cler), vicar of, 55 ; church of, 56.
Ecclesgreig (Eghisgyrg, Eglesgirg), vicar of, 36, 61.
Ecclesmachan (Clistmathyn, Egistmawyn), church of, 55, 56.
Echt (Eych, Heyth), vicar of, 41, 66.
Edderton (Ederthayn, Vthercham?), church of, 49 ; vicar of, 50.
Ederdouer, church of, 50 ; vicar of, 51.
Edinburgh, (Edenburg, Edenburgh), Sharp and Tweeddale to meet at, 127 ; sale of Leith citadel by Lauderdale to, 133-4 ; instructions regarding, 159-60 ; Cunningham of Baidland to be conducted to, 197 ; Scottish noblemen at, 210 ; post from, 227 ; Tweeddale's house at, 233, 238 ; Associate Synod at, 323 ; provost of, *see* Ramsay, Sir Andrew ; Stewart, Sir James.
——, monastery of, Holy Rood of, abbot of, 56, 74 ; procurator of, 35.
——, St. Cuthbert under the Castle of, vicar of, 55, 56.
——, St. Giles (St. Egidius) of, vicar of, 33, 55, 56.
——, Trinity College, 81, 83 ; financial arrangement in, 107 ; proceedings of chapter of, 108.
—— Castle, Earl of March warded in, 101 ; situation of powder magazine in, 153.
Edinburgh Evening Courant, 249, 284 and *n*.
Edinburgh Magazine, 283.
Edmonstoun grange, teinds of, 84 *n*.
Ednam (Edenham, Ederham ?), vicar of, 34, 59.
Edrom (Edercham, Ederham), vicar of, 35, 59 (3).
Education, in 18th-century Ayrshire, 248-9, 272-6.
Edward I., king of England, grant of Scottish tenth to, 6-10, 15 ; arbitrator in Scotland, 10 ; organises administration as overlord, 11 and *n*.
Egidia, spouse of William Greyrson, 108.
Eglinton, Alexander, 8th earl of, 206.
——, Hugh, 7th earl of, attitude of, to government, 169-70.
——, earl of, servant of, 321.
Egypt, knowledge of, 284.
Elchies (Elchyn), prebendary of, 46.
Elgin (Elgyn), altarage of, 76.
——, vicar of, 46.
——, vicarage of St. Giles (prebenda c. solidorum), 47 and *n*.
Ellem (Ellom, Ellum, Elum), church of, 33, 59 (2).
Ellon (Elon), church of, 43, 68 ; vicar of, 43, 68.
England, collection of Crusade tenths in, 4, 8, 10 ; papal collectors in, 6-7, 8, 9 ; Bagimond in, 8, 9, 10 ; collegiate churches in, 82-3 ; Earl of March's retiral to, 102 ; proposed union of Scotland and, 118-20 ; trade relations between Scotland and, 119-20, 141 *n* ; Lauderdale's houses in, 126 ; Burnet's desire for a parsonage in, 163 ; Prince of Orange to visit, 237, 290. *And see* Union.
——, king of, *see* Edward I.
English, Sir David, consul at Bordeaux, 150.
Epsom, Lauderdale takes waters at, 213.
Errol, Gilbert, 11th earl of, 223.
—— (Erole, Erroll), church of, 35 ; parish of, 48 *n*.
Erskine, Sir Charles, of Alva, Lord Lyon King of Arms, 167.
——, Ebenezer, leader of secession, 282 *n*, 309.
——, Ralph, brother of Ebenezer E., and minister of Dunfermline, works by, 282 and *n*, 309-10.
——, W., Sir Robert Moray with Countess of Dysart and, 193.
——, vicar of, *see* Lauder, Thomas.
Essie (Essi), church of, 44.
Estate improvement, in 18th-century Ayrshire, 248, 256.
Ettrick, minister of, *see* Boston, Thomas.
Eugenius, Lord, 52, 69.
Ewen, church of, 45 and *n*, 77 ; vicar of, 46.
Exchequer, payment to Lauderdale out of, 123 *n* ; credit of, endangered, 171 ; proceedings of, on accounts, 179 ; functions of,

with regard to King's wishes, 188-9; correspondence of Lauderdale with, on reform of revenue collection, 194-5, 201.
Exchequer Chamber, commissions for Union to meet in, 228-30.
Excise, effect of proposed union on, 175; scheme to raise money from, 176; reform in collection of, 194; warrant for, 222; suggested position of, after Union, 238. *See also* Customs.
Exeter, diocese of, 83.

Falkirk (Varia Cappella), vicar of, 33, 56 (2).
Falkland, *see* Kilgour.
Farming, in 18th-century Ayrshire, 268-72.
Farnes, deanery of, receipts from, 75.
Farnua (Fernewey), church of, 45 and *n*, 46 *n*.
Fearn (Ferna, Ferne), in Angus, church of, 18, 48 and *n*, 72.
——in Ross (Nova Fernia in Rossia), abbot of, 49.
Fenwick (New Kilmarnock), parish of, 236; minister of, *see* Guthrie, Mr. William.
Ferguson, Mr. James, minister of Kilwinning, 278 *n*.
Fermour, Sir Thomas, vicar of Whittinghame, 102.
Ferrier, Dr., 319.
Fettercairn (Fecherkern), church of, 39, 62.
Fetteresso (Fetheressagh), church of, 64.
Fife, deanery of, 12.
Fifeshire, formation of militia in, 165, 312.
Finaven (Fotheuen), church of, 52 and *n*.
Finch, Sir Heneage, attorney general, on commission for Union, 232 and *n*, 235.
Findogask (Nesgasc), 71.
Fintray (Fintreth, Syntrey), vicar of, 41, 67.
Fisher, Edward, theological writer, 328.
Fishwick (Fiswent, Fiswic), vicar of, 59 (2).
Flammarin, M., French envoy, 237.
Flavel, John, English divine, work by, 282 and *n*, 309.
Flax, spinning of, 250, 289-90; growing of, 271.
Fleet Street, 122.
Fleetwood, Charles, Lord, 124 and *n*.
Fleming (Flemyng), Sir Alexander, prebendary of Pinkerton, 106.
——, James, rector of Chirnside, 104.
——, John, rector of Pinkerton, 106.
Flisk (Flisc, Flosk), church of, 35, 64.
Florence, merchants of, *see* Circulorum; Hugonis; Pulicum et Rimbertinorum; Spiliaci.
Fodderty (Fotherchyn, Fotherdyn), church of, 50; vicar of, 50.
Fogo (Foggou, Fongu), vicar of, 33, 59 (2).
Fongorth (Fungor, Fyngurch), prebend of, 48 and *n*, 73.
Food, in 18th-century Ayrshire, 278-80.
Forbes (Forles), church of, 42.
Fordoun (Fordun), church of, 36; parish of, 38 *n*.
Fordyce (Forthes), church of, 43, 66.
Foreign affairs, committee on, 220.
Forfar (Forfare, Forthir), Simon de, 53; church of, 38. *And see* Fotbir.
Forfarshire, sheriff clerk of, 160 and *n*. *See also* Angus.
Forfeited estates, of Covenanters, policy suggested regarding, 187, 191, 202-3; instructions regarding, 210, 212.
Forgan (Forgrund, Forgrund in Fiff), vicar of, 39, 60.
Forgandenny (Forgrund), vicar of, 72 and *n*.
Forglen, church of, 43, 66.
Forgue (Forg), vicar of, 40, 67.
Forteviot (Fercemoth, Ferthevihot), church of, 37, 62.
Forth, rights of admiralty in, 133 and *n*.
Forvie (Furui), church of, 43.
Fossoway (Fossanwy, Fossenwy), church of, 54, 71.
Foster (Forrester), Andrew, 178, 235-6.
Fotbir, church of, 61. *And see* Forfar.
Fothri, deanery of, 12.
Foulden (Fenldeim, Fueldon), church of, 33, 58, 59.

Foulis, printing press of, at Glasgow, 283.
Fowlis-Easter (Foules in Gouerin), vicar of, 38.
Fowlis-Wester (Ffioles, Foulis), vicar of, 54 and *n*, 71.
Foveran (Fouerne), church of, 43, 68.
France, difficulties of entering, 127; war with, expected, 127, 129; Monmouth's journey to, stopped, 127, 130; assistance from, to Dutch, 128-9, 130 *n*; measure against men going to serve, 154; troops to be transported to, 160, 162; said to have declared war on Holland, 234; Scottish intercourse with, 263, 284; smuggling of goods from, 290-1.
——, king of, 5, 15, 29.
Fraser, Sir Alexander, physician in ordinary, 147-8, 172, 187, 198, 213.
Fraserburgh, *see* Philorth.
Freemasonry, in 18th-century Ayrshire, 249, 283.
Fulton, George, author of text-book, 273 and *n*.
——, weaving firm of, 288-9.
Fyvie (Fiuin, Fynin), vicar of, 43, 67.

Gairloch (Gerloth), church of, 18, 50.
Galbraith, Mr. Robert, rector of Spott and one of the lords of council and session, 102.
Galen, Christolph Bernhard von, *see* Münster, bishop of.
Galloway, 255.
——, (Candida Casa), archdeacon of, 74.
——, bishopric of, organisation of, 16-17, 20; receipts from, 26, 74-5.
Galtway (Awengalceway), vicar of, 75 and *n*.
Garioch (Garmath, Garuiath), deanery of, receipts from, 40-1, 66-7.
Gelston (Goueliston), church of, 74.
General Assembly, removal of Rothes from office of lord high commissioner to, 140-1; decision of, and secession, 328 *n*; moderator of, *see* Cant, Mr. Andrew.
Geoffrey, bishop of Dunkeld, 107.
Germany, tenths of, 31; war between Turks and, 226.
Giffert, Mr. Alexander, dean of Dunbar, 104.
Gilbert, parson of Whittingehame, 102.
——, John Graham, portrait by, 246.
Gillespie, Ann, daughter of William G. of Bishopton, and wife of Dr. John Mitchell, 247.
Glamis (Clammes, Glamnes), vicar of, 38, 63.
Glasgow, Tweeddale's return from, 236. *See also* Gorbals; Trinity College.
——, archbishopric of, appointment of administrator for, 362 *n*; archbishop of, *see* Burnet, Alexander.
——, bishopric of, 19 *n*, 22; receipts from, 25, 40, 65; bishop of, 40, 65.
——, cathedral of, celebration of masses at, 108; canon of, *see* Barri, Thomas de.
——, earldom of, Cochrane's desire for, 212.
——, grammar school of, 275.
——, Our Lady College at, 83.
——, synod of, appoints committee to hear complaints against clergy, 236 and *n*.
Glasgow Journal, 284 and *n*.
Glasgow University, 246, 275, 320; Foulis press at, 283. *See also* 'Andersonian University.'
Glass (Glas), church of, 45, 76.
Glenbervie (Glenberuyn), church of, 52.
Glendevon (Glendelan, Glendoun), church of, 54, 71.
Glenesk, 52 *n*. *And see* Glinistra.
Glenisla (Glenilif, Grenilif), vicar of, 36, 69; church of, 53.
Glenkenns (Glenken), deanery of, 17; receipts from, 74-5.
Glenmuick, 41 *n*.
Glinistra [? Glenesk], church of, 52 and *n*.
Gogar (Goger, Gogger), procurator of, 33; church of, 55, 56.
Golspie, *see* Kilmalie.
Gorbals, 275.
Gordon, Sir George, of Haddo, afterwards Earl of Aberdeen, M.P. for Aberdeenshire, 224-5.
——, Mr. Thomas de, rector of Linton, provided to canonry of Moray, 103.
Gowrie (Gordyn, Goueryn), deanery of, 12, 39, 61.

Graham, George Frederick, author of text-books, 273 and *n*.
Grammar school, in collegiate churches, 85 ; at Dunbar, 85 ; of Glasgow, 275 ; of Kilmarnock, 327.
Grandson, Gerard de, papal collector in England, 6, 7 and *n*.
Gray, Robert, imprisoned for harbouring Covenanters, 189 and *n*.
——, Thomas (?), son of Lord Gray, 219.
——, William, of Haystoun, sheriff clerk of Forfar, 160 and *n*.
Greece, knowledge of, 284.
Greenhill, commentary by, 328.
Greenlaw (Crenlan, Grenlan, Grenlau), 22 ; vicar of, 33, 59 (2).
Gregory X., pope, 6.
Greyfriars, Edinburgh, minister of, *see* Douglas, Mr. Robert.
Greyrson, William, 108 ; his spouse, Egidia, 108.
Gullane (Goly, Golyn), vicar of, 35, 58.
Guthrie, Mr. William, minister of Fenwick (New Kilmarnock), 236 ; religious work by, 305 and *n*.
—— (Guchery), church of, 52.

Haddington (Hadingcon, Hadingtoun, Hadinton), deanery of, 12 and *n* ; receipts from deanery of, 57-58 ; vicar of, 34, 57, 58 ; rural dean of, to institute dean and archpriest of Dunbar, 95, 100. *See also* St. Mary's.
Haddingtonshire, M.P. for, 225.
Hailes (Halis), Patrick de Hepburn, Lord, charter to, 103.
——, church of, 34 and *n*, 55 ; vicar of, 56.
Halkirk (Haukyrc), vicar of, 51, 68 ; parish of, 69 *n*.
Halton, John de, bishop of Carlisle, collector in Scotland, 11 and *n*, 12 *n*, 13.
Ham, Lauderdale visits Countess of Dysart at, 192, 198, 203, 213, 228-9 ; Lord Yester at, 199, 203 ; Tweeddale's correspondence with, 219 ; Lauderdale writes from, 226, 235.
Hamburg, pass for men going to, 191.
Hamilton, Anna, duchess of, difference between Lauderdale and, regarding residence at Holyrood, 120, 214-16, 147, 158. Her sister, *see* Cassillis, Susanna, countess of.
Hamilton, William, 3rd duke of, failure of intrigues of, with King, 145-7, 150 ; Don John of Austria's letter to, 153 and *n* ; reconciliation between Lauderdale's group and, 158, 165 ; difference between Lauderdale and, regarding residence at Holyrood, 214-16 ; behaviour of, during debates on Union, 223, 225.
——, James, suspected of duelling, 209.
——, Tweeddale going to, 234.
Hampton Court, Lauderdale at, 163, 165, 170, 203, 208-10.
Harcars, Thomas de, canon of Dunbar, 84, 86.
Harding, Dr., 194.
Harrington, Sir James, 123.
Harwood, Mrs., 154.
Hassendean, barony of, 131 and *n*, 132.
Hauch, *see* Linton.
Hawick, proposal concerning, 132, 211.
Hay, Alexander, son of 2nd earl of Tweeddale, birth of, 117.
——, Anne, daughter of 2nd earl of Tweeddale, birth of, 117.
——, Anne, daughter of Lord Yester and granddaughter of Lauderdale, birth of, 117.
——, Charles, son of Lord Yester and grandson of Lauderdale, 116, 167, 184-9 ; visits his grandmother, 119, 192 ; progress of, 218.
——, Gilbert, son of 2nd earl of Tweeddale, birth of, 117, 165, 169.
——, Sir James, of Linplum, made collector of customs and excise, 194.
——, Jean, daughter of 2nd earl of Tweeddale, birth of, 116-17.
——, Jean, daughter of Lord Yester and granddaughter of Lauderdale, afterwards countess of Rothes, birth of, 116-17.
——, John, 2nd son of Lord Yester and grandson of Lauderdale, birth of, 116 ; christening of, 182, 193, 195 ; progress of, 218.
——, Mr. John, of Haystoun, clerk of session, 173.
——, Margaret, daughter of earl of Tweeddale, health of, 177.

Hay, William, 4th earl of Kinnoull, his sisters, 195 and *n*.
——, William, of Newhall, son of Lord Yester and grandson of Lauderdale, birth of, 116.
——, Mr., 131.
Hayward, S., religious author, 305 *n*.
Hedderwick (Hathyrvyk), chapel of, annexed to parish church and to collegiate church of Dunbar, 82, 90, 98, 103; relation of Belton and, 103, 106.
Helmsdale (Haludal, Helwedale), chapel of, 51, 68.
Henry, bishop of St. Andrews, *see* Wardlaw, Henry.
——, Matthew, minister at Chester, commentary by, 309 and *n*.
Hepburn, Adam, earl of Bothwell, 103, 107.
——, Adam, dean of Dunbar, 101, 104.
——, Mr. George, rector of Hauch, 103.
——, Patrick de, Lord Hailes, charter to, 103.
——, Mr. Patrick, rector of Linton, 103.
Heriot (Hereyec, Herihot, Heryeth), church of (in deanery of Linlithgow), 33, 56; (in deanery of Haddington), 57.
Hertishede, teinds of, 84 *n*.
Highgate, Lauderdale's house at, 114, 119, 125, 160, 162, 164, 213-14, 217, 218, 223; letters dated at, 130, 139, 160, 220.
Highlanders, terror roused by, during '45, 281.
Highlands, armed clash in, over taxation, 195 and *n*; Lauderdale approves plan for, 206-7; settlement in, 214, 264, 267, 299.
—— and Islands, Society for propagating gospel in, 283.
Hilton (Hiltoun, Hylton), church of, 33, 59 (2).
Hodges, Mr. Robert, Commonwealth solicitor-general, grant by Richard Cromwell to, 169; straitened circumstances and important knowledge of, 235-6.
Holland, invasion of, by bishop of Münster, 127-9; agreement with, regarding covenanting writers, 146-7, 191; horses from, 216; doubt about Temple's return to, 234; France said to have declared war on, 234; States of, consent to Prince of Orange's visit to England, 237; illicit trade with, 284-5, 290-1. *See also* Dutch; Low Countries.
Holy Land, levy of tenths for relief of, 5-8; money of, deposited with bankers, 15, 28, 29; loans made from, 15, 31; collection of, in Scotland, 32-77. *See also* Crusades.
Holyroodhouse, difference between Lauderdale and Duchess of Hamilton regarding residence at, 120, 214-16; letter dated by Tweeddale at, 223. *See also* Edinburgh.
Home, Alexander, 1st earl of, 125 *n*. His daughter, *see* Lauderdale, Anna, countess of.
——, Alexander, 4th earl of, proposed marriage between Mary Maitland and, 125-6, 143, 177.
——, James, 2nd earl of, 125 *n*.
——, James, 3rd earl of, son of Sir James H. of Whitrig, 125 *n*. His wife, *see* Douglas, Jean.
Honeyman, Andrew, bishop of Orkney, 146 *n*; wounding of, 166 *n*, 167.
Honorius III., pope, 9, 10, 25, 30.
Hopton, Mr., return by, on Buccleuch estates, 129.
Hospital, in collegiate churches, 85; at Dunbar, 85.
Housing, in 18th-century Ayrshire, 256-8.
Howe, John, chaplain to Cromwell, religious works by, 309 and *n*.
Hudsoun, Sir Hew, parson of Spott, 102.
Hugonis, Lapus, Societas, 31.
Hume, Sir Alexander, 1st Lord H., endowment by, to collegiate church of Dunglass and agreement with clergy thereof, 104, 107.
——, Alexander, 2nd Lord H., charter to, of lands of Chirnside, 104.
——, Archibald, (?) prebendary of Chapel Royal, presented to rectory of Duns, 104.
Huntingdon, 119, 227.
Huntly, parish of, 46 *n*.
Hutchison, Mr. George, minister of Tolbooth, 164.
Hutton (Hinston, Hoton, Huteston), brothers of, 56, 60; church of, 59.

Idvie (Edewyn), church of, 36.
Improvement, *see* Estate Improvement.
Inch (Insula), church of, 75.
Inchaffray (Insula Missarum), abbot of, 53, 71 ; escheat of, 189.
Inchbrayock (Inchebrioc, Insula Sancti Bricchi), Andrew, rector of, 15, 30; church of, 39 and *n*, 62.
Inchcadin (Inchecad), church of, 73 and *n*.
Inchcalleoch, island of, 54 *n*.
Inchcolm (Sancti Columbe), abbot of, 48 ; monastery of, 72.
Inchmagrannoch (Inchemegranoc), prebend of, 49 and *n*, 73.
Inchmahome (Insula Sancti Calmoth, Colmoti), prior of, 53, 71.
Inchture (Inchethur), vicar of, 38.
Independents, 250, 298.
India, knowledge of, 284.
Indies, minister to be banished to, 207.
Industries, in 18th-century Ayrshire, 250, 288-91.
Innerasfran, church of, 50.
Innerwick (Inuerwic), vicar of, 33 ; church of, 34.
Insch (Insula), vicar of, 40, 67.
Insh (Inche), prebendary of, 46.
Inuerkileth [? Inverkeilor], vicar of, 38.
Inverallan (Inueralian, Inueralyan), church of, 45, 77.
Inverarity (Inuerarethin), 37, 39 *n*.
Inverbervie (Inuerberuy), Mr. David de, 70.
Inverkeilor (Fimerkychelechyr), vicar of, 63. *And see* Inuerkileth.
Inverkeithing (Funerkethyn, Inuerkechin), vicar of, 39, 60, 64.
Inverkeithny (Inuerthoni, Inuerthony), prebend of, 46 and *n*, 76.
Inverlochin (Inuerloghyn), half mark land of, 45, 77.
Inverlunan (Inuerlunan), vicar of, 62 and *n*.
Inverness (Inuernis), vicar of, 46, 76.
Inverochtie (Innernogthy, Inuernothy), church of, 42 and *n*, 65.
Inverurie (Inuerury), vicar of, 41, 67.
Iona (Insula de Iy), abbot of, 47, 73.
Ireland, 5 ; attempt to establish postal communication between Scotland and, 157 and *n* ; proposed translation of Alex. Burnet to, 163; changes in government of, 166 and *n*, 203; Anglesey's conduct as vice-treasurer of, 168 ; affairs of, 171 ; Covenanter captured in, 196; covenanting minister from, 207 ; policy for, 208 ; influx of Presbyterian ministers to, 263-4.
Irvine, prior of, 108 ; trial before presbytery of, 278 *n*.
——, River, 255.
Isles, 16.
Italian bankers, 7, 8, 9, 15, 16.
Italy, knowledge of, 284.

Jacobites, absence of, in Beith, 250.
James iv., king of Scots, secures erection of Chapel Royal at Stirling, 86.
Jameson, Mr. John, secession minister of Methven, son of William J., 320.
——, William, secession minister of Kilwinning, biographical sketch of, 320-2, 331 ; his wife, 323.
Jenkins, Sir Leoline, judge of admiralty, on commission for Union, 232 and *n*, 235.
Johnston of Wariston, Sir Archibald, lord clerk register, 122 and *n*, 123, 124.
Justice clerk, *see* Moray, Sir Robert.
Justice of Peace court, at Beith, 278, 293.

Kearn (Keryn), church of, 42.
Keig (Kege), vicar of, 41, 66.
Keith, Sir James, 203.
Keith-Humbie (Kechundeby, Kechundilby, Keth Undeby), vicar of, 35, 36, 57, 58.
Keith Marischal (Kech Marescal, Kech Margcal, Keth Marescall), church of, 35, 36, 57, 58.
Keldera, Clemens, chaplain of, 54 and *n*.
Kellie, Alexander Erskine, 3rd earl of, captaincy obtained for, 142 and *n*, 156, 157, 177, 181, 195.
Kellimore, *see* Kilmore.
Kello, Mr. John, minister of Spott, 102.
Kells (Kelles), church of, 75.
Kelso (Kelcon), abbot of, 35, 65.
——, collection made at, 32.

Kelton, vicar of, 74.
Kemanthin [? Kennoway], vicar of, 39.
Kendal, secession church at, 324.
Kenetar [? Kinnettles], 37.
Kenhacghy [? Kennoway], church of, 61.
Kenmore, *see* Inchcadin.
Kennedy, Lady Margaret, daughter of John, 6th earl of Cassillis and wife of Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, 142 and *n*; Lauderdale and Duke of Hamilton's conduct towards, 158; intervenes on behalf of persecuted ministers, 204; correspondence between Lauderdale and, regarding residence at Holyrood, 214-5.
Kennethmont (Kynalkemund, Kynalkemurch), vicar of, 41, 67.
Kennoway, *see* Kemanthin; Kenhacghy.
Ker, Mr. Michael, rector of Duns, 103.
——, Robert, of Kersland, part of, in Ayrshire, rising and forfeiture of, 143 and *n*, 187.
——, Sir William, of Hadden, grant to, 195.
Kilbride (Killebrid), church of, 54 and *n*, 71.
Kilchrist, *see* Tarradale.
Kilconquhar, residence of Earl of March at, 102. *And see* Kyncroach.
Kildarie (Kildaire), 54 *n*.
Kildonan (Coldulman, Keldoninane), prebend of, 51, 69.
Kildrummy (Kyndromy), church of, 42, 66.
Kilgour (Kilgouerin, Kylgonery, Kylgouerin), church of, 37, 38; executors of late rector of, 60.
Killin (Kynlyn), church of, 47, 73.
Kilmachog (Santo Maghot, Mathoco), 54 and *n*, 71.
Kilmadock (Kylmadoc), vicar of, 53, 72.
Kilmalie (Culmaliun, Culmalyn), vicar of, 51 and *n*, 69.
Kilmany (Kilmannin, Kylmanyn), church of, 37, 64.
Kilmarnock, carpet-weaving at, 288; grammar school of, 327; secession congregation founded at, 330; secession minister of, *see* Robertson, James. *See also* Fenwick (New Kilmarnock).
Kilmaurs, secession minister of, *see* Smeaton, David.
Kilmaveonaig (Kilmeuenoc, Kylmeuenet), church of, 47 and *n*, 73.
Kilmore (Kilmor), church of, 52 and *n*.
Kilmuir Easter (Kelmormethet), church of, 50; vicar of, 50.
—— Wester (Kylmor Australi), church of, 49; vicar of, 50.
Kilravock (Kelrewoc), church of, 46.
Kilspindie (Kynspinedi), church of, 35 and *n*, 61; parish of, 47 *n*.
Kiltarlity, *see* Conveth, Moray diocese.
Kiltearn (Keltire), church of, 50.
Kilwinning, masonic lodge at, 249, 283; secession congregation founded at, 330; Irvine congregation annexed to, 331; parish minister of, *see* Ferguson, Mr. James; secession minister of, *see* Jameson, William.
——, abbey of, tenants of, 268; tower of, 326-7.
Kinbathoch (Kinbechoc, Kynbethoc), vicar of, 41 and *n*, 65.
Kincardine, Alexander, 2nd earl of, part of, in administration of Scotland, 115; Lauderdale's efforts to help, 151, 158; provision made for, 168; view of, regarding Scottish staple, 173; made commissioner of Treasury, 175 and *n*; obtains remission for Malcolms of Balbedie, 182, 186; to inquire about embezzlements in capture of a prize, 190-1, 197; added to commission for valuations, 192; Lauderdale's letter to, on lease of revenue, 201, 213; member of lords of the articles, 224; on commission for Union, 232, 235.
—— (Kyncardyn), Ross diocese, church of, 50.
—— O'Neil (Kinkardin Onel, Onel), hospital of, 42, 66; presbytery of, 52 *n*.
Kincardine-on-Spey, church of, 46 and *n*; parish of, 45 *n*.
Kinclaven (Kyncleuyn), church of, 73 and *n*.
Kincraigy, Sir James, parson of Spott, 102.
Kingedward (Kyneddard, Kyneddeard), church of, 43, 66.

Kinghorn, Patrick, 3rd earl of, holds command in militia, 163 and *n*, 171; given right to nominate his officers, 182.
—— (Magna Kyrgorn, Magnakingorn), church of, 40, 64.
Kinglassy (Kinglassi, Kynlassy), vicar of, 37, 62.
Kingoldrum (Gingondrum, Kyngoudrum), vicar of, 52, 69.
Kingussie (Kengussi), 18; prebendary of, 46.
Kinkell (Kynkel), church of, 41, 67.
Kinleith (Keldelek, Keldeleth), church of, 33 and *n*, 55, 56.
Kinloch, *see* Lundeiff.
Kinloss (Kynlos), abbot of, 50.
Kinmuck (Kynemune, Kynimuch), vicar of, 41 and *n*, 65.
Kinneff (Kynese, Kynuif), church of, 37, 64.
Kinneil, *see* Kynelf.
Kinnell (Kynel), church of, 37.
Kinnettles, *see* Kenetar.
Kinnoir (Kynnor), prebendary of, 46 and *n*; vicar of, 46.
Kinnoull, William, 4th earl of, his sisters, 195 and *n*.
——, 40 *n*. *And see* Kymmiyl.
Kinross (Kynros), church of, 36, 39, 61.
Kippen (Kyppen), church of, 54, 70.
Kircanders Balimeth [? Balmaghie], vicar of, 75 and *n*.
Kirkandrews (Kircandrum Purcen), 74 and *n*.
Kirkcaldy (Kyrcaldyn, Kyrkaldi), vicar of, 37, 62.
Kirkco, J., 234.
Kirkcolm (Kyrcum), church of, 75.
Kirkcudbright (Kirkcubrich), vicar of, 74; parish of, 75 *n*.
Kirkdale (Kirkedal), church of, 74 and *n*.
Kirkden, *see* Idvie.
Kirkhill, parish of, 45 *n*, 46 *n*.
Kirkinner, 75 *n* (2).
Kirklands, Crown's right to feuduties of, 176.
Kirkmabreck, 74 *n*.
Kirkmadrine, *see* Toskerton.
Kirkmaiden (Kirkemethen), church of, 75 and *n*.
Kirkmichael, in Strathardail (Kylmichel, Kylmighel), church of, 47, 73; vicar of, 73.
Kirkton (Kyrkecon, Kyrketen), 22; vicar of, 55 and *n*, 56.
Kirkwood, John, Lauderdale's servant, 157 and *n*, 169.
Kirriemuir (Kerimur, Kyrimur, Kyrmur), vicar of, 37, 63; prebend of, 69 and *n*.
Knight, George, author of textbook, 273.
Knowles, James, author of textbook, 274.
Knox, John, his *History*, 249, 282 and *n*.
Kyle, extent of, 255.
Kymmiyl [? Kinnoull], church of, 40.
Kyncroach [? Kilconquhar], vicar of, 37.
Kynelf [? Kinneil], church of, 62.

Ladykirk, *see* Upsetlington.
Laggan-Allochie, *see* Inchmagrannoch.
Lairds, position of, in 18th-century Ayrshire, 257, 262, 268.
Lairg, prebend of, 51 *n*.
Lambert, John major-general, 121 and *n*, 122, 124.
Lambeth, Lauderdale and others with the King at, 209.
Lammermuirs, 102.
Land tax, suggested position of, after Union, 238.
—— tenure, evolution of, in Ayrshire, 257, 268.
Landallis, William de, bishop of St. Andrews, granter of charter of erection of collegiate church of Dunbar, 82, 89, 98, 101.
Langton (Langtoun), vicar of, 35, 58, 59.
Largo (Largach, Largath), vicar of, 37 and *n*, 62.
Lasswade (Leswad, Leswade), 33; vicar of, 33, 55, 56; parish of, 55 *n*.
Latheron (Lagheryn, Laterne), vicar of, 51, 68.
Lathrisk (Loscrist, Losrech, Lostelresk), vicar of, 37, 38, 61.
Lauder, 227.
Lauder, Thomas, canon of Aberdeen and vicar of Erskine, rector of Pitcox, 107.
Lauderdale, Charles, 3rd earl of, *see* Maitland, Charles.
——, John, 2nd earl of, correspondence of, 113 *et seq.*; his handwriting, 114; his London residences, 114; Archbishop

Sharp's visits to, 114 ; friendship of, with Tweeddale, 114-5, 118 ; release of, from imprisonment, and gift to, 115 ; marriage of his daughter and Lord Yester, 115-16, 135-7, 139 ; his grandchildren, 116-17 ; friendship of, with Sir Robert Moray, 117-18 ; his career, character and policy, 118-19 ; his relations with his wife, and with Lady Dysart, 118-19 ; his policy towards the Covenanters, 119 ; his efforts to secure release, 121-5 ; his financial position during imprisonment, 123 and *n* ; proposed marriage of his daughter to Alexander, 4th earl of Home, 125-6 ; his opposition to Lord Yester's proposed journey to France, 129 ; commissioner for Duke of Monmouth, 129 *n* ; his views on questions regarding Buccleuch inheritance, 130-2, 139-140 ; rights of, in lordship of Musselburgh, and sale of Leith citadel by, to Edinburgh, 133-4 ; intrigues of, to secure removal of Rothes, 140-1 ; his estate at Lethington, 143 *n* ; Hamilton's anger at, 145-7 ; views of, on Presbyterians, 149, 150 ; his scruples as to royal power to break a judicial decreet, 151 ; obtains King's consent to his wishes, 152 ; sends full instructions regarding militia, 159 ; advises purchase of the Bass, 161 and *n* ; goes to Hampton Court, 163, 165 ; to restrain King from granting further pensions, 171 ; health of, 171 ; informs Rothes of progress of negotiations for union, 174-5 ; charter by, to Musselburgh, 180 ; his efforts to secure grants for Argyll, 181, 182, 186, 188-9 ; illness of his wife and grandson, 181-9, 192 ; views of, on policy to be followed against Covenanters, 187, 191, 202-3 ; displeased with archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, 199 ; views of, on plea for persecuted ministers, 204 ; approves plan for Highlands and West, 206-7 ; writes Tweeddale about religious policy, 211-2 ; difference between Duchess of Hamilton and, regarding residence at Holyrood, 214-6 ; his views on dissenters, 215-6, 219 ; preparations of, for leaving London, 216-7 ; on progress with the King, 217 ; his correspondence with his brother and sister-in-law, 218 ; commission for, 219 ; financial position of, and instructions to, as commissioner to Parliament, 219-222 ; King opposes wishes of, 223 ; conduct of as commissioner, 223-5 ; King's welcome to, 228 ; indisposition of, delays meeting of commission for Union, 237 ; coolness between Tweeddale and, 238-9 ; thanks Tweeddale for congratulations on his recent honours, 240. His brother, *see* Maitland, Charles. His wife, *see* (1) Lauderdale, countess of; (2) Dysart, countess of.

Lauderdale, Anna Home, daughter of Alexander, 1st earl of H., and countess of, relations between, and her husband ; 118-19 ; her attitude to the Church, 119 ; allowance to, during Lauderdale's imprisonment, 123 *n* ; her religious observations, 149 ; attempts to obtain remission of fine, 151-2, 155 ; illness of, 181-9, 192-3.

Laurencekirk, *see* Conveth, in Mearns.

Learmonth (Leirmonth), Sir James, archpriest of Dunbar, 105.

——, Joseph, major, punishment of, for fighting against King's troops, 187 and *n*, 189 *n*.

Lecropt (Leereth, Lethrith), church of, 48 (2) and *n*.

Le Fevre, Nicasius, professor of chemistry, 186.

Legerwood (Leehardewend, Ligharwd, Logardewod, Lyghardeswod), church of, 34 ; vicar of, 35, 58, 59.

Leicester, *see* New College.

Leighton, Mr. Robert, bishop of Dunblane, appointed administrator of archbishopric of Glasgow, 236 and *n*.

Leith, sale of citadel of, by Lauderdale to Edinburgh, 133-4. *And see* St. Anthony.

Lemlair (Lemmelare, Lemnelar), church of, 50 ; vicar of, 51

Lemonktoun, Patrick de, rector of Dunbar, controversy between Melrose Abbey and, 102. *See also* Mocstun.
Lennox, and Richmond, Ludovick, 2nd duke of, lord high admiral of Scotland, 133 and *n*.
—— Charles, 6th, duke of, report concerning money of, 191, 201; suspected of duelling, 209; advises Cochrane not to seek earldom of Glasgow, 212.
Leochel (Loghel, Loyel), vicar of, 41 and *n*, 66.
Leslie (Lesselyn), vicar of, 40, 67.
Leswalt, church of, 75.
Lethington (Lennoxlove), estate of, owned by Lauderdale, 143 *n*, 150.
Lethnot, 52 *n*.
Lethrith [? Lecropt], church of, 48.
Leuchars (Loghros, Lonthers), vicar of, 39, 61; rectory of, 39 *n*.
Leven, 21, 39 *n*.
'Lifter' controversy, in secession church, 318, 322.
Lincluden, collegiate church of, jurisdiction of provost of, 105; proceedings of chapter of, 108; seal of, and its custodian, 108-9.
Lindores, John, 4th Lord, affairs of, 149 and *n*.
—— (Lundors), abbot of, 39, 40, 53 (2), 64, 67, 70, 71.
Lindsay, Lady Sophia, niece of Sir Robert Moray, 155 and *n*.
Linlithgow (Lynlichtu, Lynlitheu, Lynlithqu), deanery of, 12; receipts from, 55-7.
——, vicar of, 34, 56.
Linlithgowshire, captaincy of militia in, 159.
Lint, *see* Flax.
Linton (Lincon, Lyncon, Lyntoun), East Lothian, parish church of, 34, 57, 58; annexed as prebend of Dunbar, 84, 90, 94, 98-9, 103; viear of, 94, 99; later names of parish, 103; parsons and rectors of, 103; dedication of church of, 103; value of, 103.
——, Teviotdale, 103.
Linton-Roderick (West Linton), 103.
Lintrathen (Luncrethyn, Luntrechyn), church of, 38, 63.
Liston (Lyston, Lystoun), church of, 33, 55, 56.
Little Dunkeld, parish of, 49 *n*.
Littleton, Sir Thomas, on English commission for Union, 237.
Livingstone (Leningeston, Leuigestoun, Levingeston), vicar of, 34, 55, 56.
Lochaber (Loquaber), armed resistance to collection of taxes in, 195 and *n*, 214
Lochalsh (Logalche), church of, 50.
Lochbroom (Loghbren), church of, 50.
Lochcarron (Loghcarn), church of, 50.
Lochiel, suggested for command in militia, 159 and *n*.
Lochlee, parish of, 52 *n*.
Lochleven (Insula de Levin), prior of, 35.
Lochore, 39 *n*.
Lochorwart (Loghowert, Logohomr, Loghorwyr), vicar of, 34 and *n*, 57, 58.
Lochwinnoch, draining of lake of, 256.
Lockhart, Sir James, of Lee, 223.
——, Colonel, 228, 230.
Loggy, Mr. J. de, prebend of, 72.
Logie (Logy, Logyn), Dunblane diocese, church of, 71; sheaves of, 54; vicar of, 54, 71.
—— St. Andrews diocese, church of, 40.
Logie-Alloway (Loghantlot, Logynauelath), church of, 47 and *n*, 73.
Logiebride (Loginbrid, Logynbrid), Dunkeld diocese, church of, 47 and *n*, 73.
——, Ross diocese, *see* Logie Wester.
Logie-Buchan (Logynathi, Logyntalargy), church of, 43 and *n*, 67 and *n*.
Logie-Coldstone, *see* Colstone.
Logie-Durno, *see* Durno.
Logie Easter (Logymnechet, Logynmethet), church of, 50; vicar of, 51.
Logiekenny (Logikenuy, Logykenni), church of, 45 and *n*, 77.
Logiemurdoch (Logiminrath, Logimnohaud), church of, 38, 61.
Logierait (Logynrath), church of, 47.
Logie Wester (Logynbrid), church of, 49 and *n*; vicar of, 50.

Lonchorn, church of, 39 and *n*. *And see* Leuchars.
London, Lauderdale's residences in, 114; Lords Yester and Tweeddale at, 117; section of Scottish Privy Council at, 117; Lauderdale's return to, from Scotland and conversations at, regarding Union, 120; absence of court from, 126-7; Tweeddale goes to Yester from, 145 and *n*; Sharp's visit to, 155, 162-4; Moray's stay and work in, 155 and *n*, 167, 209; Lauderdale's preparations to leave, 216-17; Tweeddale's journey to, 227; Lauderdale's journey to, 227; silk-weaving firms at, 289.
Longcastle (Lengast), church of, 75 and *n*.
Longforgan (Forgrund in Goueryn, in Gordyn), vicar of, 39, 61.
Longformacus, laird of, 126.
'Longifacies' (cipher name), *see* Burnet, Alexander.
Longley (Lungle), vicar of, 43 and *n*, 67.
Lonmay (Lommeth, Lunmeth), church of, 43, 68.
Lord Advocate, Sir John Nisbet of Dirleton, 126; advice of, sought regarding proceedings against covenanting writers, 147; a lord of session, 151; to be consulted regarding Crown's right to feu-duties of kirklands, 176; opposition of, to grant to Argyll, 188-9, 218-19; Lauderdale's letter to, regarding grant to Drummond, 202; on commission for Union, 223, 232, 235.
—— Chancellor, *see* Rothes, John, earl of.
—— High Commissioner, removal of Rothes from office of, 140-1.
—— —— Treasurer, office of, not likely to be filled, 166, 208.
—— Keeper, Sir Orlando Bridgman, part of, in negotiations for Union, 168 and *n*, 221-2, 228-32, 237.
Lords of Session, visit Oxford and Cambridge, 235.
Lothian, marquis of, *see* Newbattle, Lord.
—— (Laodon, Laodonie, Londonie), possessions of abbacy of St. Andrews in, 39.
Lothian, archdeaconry of, receipts from, 30, 32-6, 55-60; jurisdiction of archdeacon of, over collegiate church of Dunbar, 94, 99.
——, deanery of, 12 and *n*.
Love, Jean, wife of James M'Connell, 278 *n*.
Low Countries, Scottish trade with, 167 and *n*, 173, 190. *See also* Dutch; Holland.
Lucca, merchants of, *see* Riccardorum.
Lude (Lod, Loed), church of, 47, 73.
Lunan (Limyn), prebend of, 45 and *n*.
——, vicar of, *see* Inverlunan.
Lundeiff (Lundef), church of, 47 and *n*, 73.
Lundie, 157.
Lundin, Margaret, of Lundin, widow of Robert Maitland, Lauderdale writes to, 218.
Lundy (Lundi), church of, 36, 63.
Lydel, George, rector of Pitcox, 107.
Lyons, General Council of, 5, 6.

M'Callen, Lauderdale to write to, 149; Lauderdale's apologies to, 186; Lauderdale displeased with, 195.
M'Connell, James, drummer in Beith, religious controversialist, 278 and *n*. His wife, *see* Love, Jean.
MacDowall, Mr., of Castlesemple and Garthland, estate improvements carried out by, 256.
Mackenzie, Sir George, of Rosehaugh, M.P. for Ross, opposes Union, 224-5.
Mackie, Henry, messenger, 128.
M'Lellan, Mr. David, minister of Beith, 251; relations of, with secession congregation, 299-300.
——, John, of Barscob, attempt to obtain information from, 166.
Madderty (Maderdi, Maderthi), church of, 48, 72.
Magazines, in 18th-century Scotland, 283.
Maginn, Father Patrick, 237.
Maid of Norway, *see* Scots, queen of.
Mains, *see* Strathdighty.
Mair, John, prebendary of Dunbar, 106.
Maitland, Charles, of Halton, brother of Earl of Lauderdale, 126, 134 and *n*; desire of, to obtain captaincy, 159; Lauderdale's and

Tweeddale's efforts to assist, 164-5, 168; pleased with Tweeddale's kindness, 172; to be told terms of Treasury commission, 182; Lauderdale's letter to, about Bellenden, 197; Lauderdale writes to, 218; with Lauderdale at Ham, 229.
Maitland, Mary, daughter of Earl of Lauderdale, marriage of, with Lord Yester, 115-16; her appearance, 116; her children, 116-17; at Yester and London, 117; proposed marriage between Alexander, 4th earl of Home, and, 125-6; Sir Robert Moray's views on proposed marriage between Lord Yester and, 135-7; her parents consent to her marriage with Lord Yester, 139; children of, 172, 179, 184, 185, 240; Tweeddale to return to Scotland with, 212, 228.
——, Robert, brother of Earl of Lauderdale, 218.
——, Mr. 124.
Makerston (Malcaruestona, Malkarnistoun, Malkarviston, Malkeruiston), Mr. Adam de, provost of St. Andrews and rector of Ceres, 16, 36 and *n*, 65, 81 *n*.
Malcolm IV., king of Scots, 57 *n*.
Malcolms of Balbedie, remission for, 182 and *n*.
Manuel, nuns of, 57 *n*.
Mar, Charles, earl of, succession of, 163 and *n*.
—— (Marre), deanery of, receipts from, 41-2, 65-6.
March, George, 10th earl of Dunbar and 3rd earl of, 101.
——, ——, last earl of Dunbar and 4th earl of, forfeited, 86, 101-2; consents to confirmation of charter of erection of collegiate church of Dunbar, 89, 97, 98, 100.
——, Patrick, 9th earl of Dunbar and 2nd earl of, patron of collegiate church of Dunbar, 82-4, 89, 90, 96, 98, 100; his tenure of earldom and death, 101; assumes title of Earl of Moray, 101. His wife, *see* Randolph, Agnes.
——, earls of, patronage of collegiate clergy of Dunbar to remain with, 94, 100; duties of collegiate clergy in relation to, 95, 100.
Marischal, Earl, on commission for audit of accounts, 210; seeks continuation of a tack, 218.
Marking [? Markinch], vicar of, 61 and *n*.
Marnoch, *see* Aberchirder.
'Marrow' controversy, in Church of Scotland, 328 and *n*.
Martin IV., pope, 8, 9.
Maryton (Maricon), vicar of, 53.
Mason, Mr., 157 and *n*.
Masonic Lodges, *see* Freemasonry.
Mathing [? Meathie], vicar of, 39 and *n*, 61 *n*.
Matthew, Mr., 70.
Maule, John, of Melgund, his opinion on grant of Dalswinton, 169, 172, 177, 179, 205; proposals by, regarding Crown's right to feu-duties of kirklands and increasing amount raised from excise, 176-7; news from Keith to, 203; Tweeddale's proposal concerning, 217.
Maxwell, Mr. Gabriel, minister of Dundonald, part of, in Ayrshire rising, 143 and *n*, 187.
Maxwellton, silk-weaving at, 289.
Maybole, collegiate church of, 81.
Maynard, William, Lord, brother-in-law of Countess of Dysart, 228.
Mearns, deanery of, 12.
Meathie, 39 *n*. *And see* Mathing.
Megginch (Melging), vicar of, 48 and *n*; church of, 72.
Meigle (Miggel, Mighil, church of, 48, 72; vicar of, 72.
Meldrum, *see* Bethelnie.
Melrose (Melroff), monastery of, money deposited at, 15, 29; controversy between collegiate church of Dunbar and, 84 *n*; controversy between rector of Dunbar and, 102; obit book of, 108.
Melville (Malenil), church of, 55 and *n*, 56.
Menmuir (Melmorech), prebend of, 49 and *n*, 74.
Merse (Merskis), deanery of, 12; receipts from, 58-60.
Methil (Methkil), church of, 39, 62.
Methlick (Methlech), church of, 43.
Methodists, 298.
Methven, secession minister of, *see* Jameson, Mr. John.

Middleton, John, 1st earl of, Lauderdale, not afraid of movements of, 141; gives Lauderdale news of Archbishop Sharp, 155; in need of his pension, 172, 198, 207, 210-11; residence of, at Holyrood, 214-15; payment to, as commissioner to Parliament, 220.
Midlothian, 12 *n.*
Midmar (Migmar), church of, 42, 66.
Migvie (Migaueth, Syganech), vicar of, 42, 65.
Militia, organisation of, 137-8, 142, 159, 165, 182, 204, 206; not to be levied for service abroad, 161.
Ministers, *see* Clergy.
Mitchell, Andrew, secession minister of Beith, 245-6, 251; relations of, with established church, 299; biographical sketch of, 312-20; his wife, 319-20.
——, A., of Maulside, writer in Glasgow, brother of Dr. John M., 320.
——, James, father of Rev. Andrew M., 312-13.
——, Dr. John, secession minister of Wellington Street, Glasgow, career of, 245-7; his *Memories of Ayrshire*, 247 *et seq.*; tutor to Campbell of Silvercraig's children, 299. His wife, *see* Gillespie, Ann.
Mocstun, Sir Patrick de le, rector of Chirnside, 104. *See also* Lemonktoun; Monchtoun.
Moderates, in Church of Scotland, 251, 301.
Moderator, of General Assembly, *see* Cant, Mr. Andrew.
Monchtoun, Mr. Henry de le, rector of Duns, 103. *See also* Mocstun.
Monck, General, duke of Albemarle, attempt on life of, 181; complaint to, regarding customs payments in Scotland, 190, 192.
Moncrieff, Alexander, secession minister of Culfargie, 323.
——, Thomas, clerk of exchequer, purchases barony of Moncrieff, 151, 155, 197, 204.
——, William, secession minister of Alloa, and professor of theology, daughter of, marries Rev. James Taylor, 323.
Moneydie (Monithy, Monychi, Monythi), vicar of, 47; prebend of, 49, 74.
Monifieth (Monifoch, Monifoth), vicar of, 38, 63; 63 *n.*
Monikie (Monweky, Munweki), vicar of, 52, 70.
Monimail (Monimel, Mouimel, Munimel), church of, 37, 39, 40, 62 (2).
Monmouth, James, duke of, prevented from going to France, 127, 130; questions arising out of marriage contract between Duchess of Buccleuch and, 129-133; signs paper for Earl of Dumfries, 202; obtains earldom for Lord Cochrane, 208; proposal to, concerning Hawick, 211.
——, duchess of, *see* Buccleuch, Anna, duchess of.
Monro, Major, 160.
Montrose, marquis of, gift to, 208, 212.
—— (Monros, Munros), vicar of, 52, 70.
Monymusk (Monimusc, Munimusc), church of, 40; prior of, 41, 67; parish of, 46 *n*; parish church of, 66.
Monzievaird, parish of, 53 *n.*
Moray, Patrick, earl of, *see* March, Patrick, earl of.
——, Thomas, earl of, killed at Neville's Cross, 101. His sister, *see* Randolph, Agnes.
——, Mr. Patrick, bailie of Ettrick Forest, made collector of customs and excise, 194.
——, Sir Robert, lord justice clerk, correspondence between Lauderdale, Tweeddale and, 113 *et seq.*; his handwriting, 114; part of, in administration of Scotland, 115, 118; member of Scottish Privy Council, 117; friendship between Lauderdale and, 117-18; his scientific pursuits and work in Scotland and for union between England and Scotland, 117-18, 167; his opposition to Lord Yester's proposed journey to, 127; journey of, to Scotland, 134; his views on proposed marriage between Lord Yester and Lauderdale's daughter, 135-7; part of, in removal of Rothes, 140-1; introduces bond to be taken by disaffected, 147 and *n*; his proposed tour of investigation in West of Scotland, 154-5, 164; returns to London, 155 and *n*; consultation

with, regarding customs, 171-2; with Countess of Dysart, 193; views of, on adjustment of lease of revenue and intervenes on behalf of his brother, 199-200; views of, on Church legislation, 220; Tweeddale writes to, 223; reports to Tweeddale on progress of Union negotiations, etc., 229, 233-7; on commission for Union, 232, 235, 237; Tweeddale reports to, on religious situation in West, 236.
Moray, Sir William, master of H.M. Works, brother of Sir Robert M., 199-200, 233.
——, archdeacon of, 46.
——, bishopric of, 13 and *n*, 17, 18; receipts from, 26, 44-7, 76-7; bishop of, 44, 76; William and Andrew, bishops of, 46 *n*. *And see* Dunbar, Columba de.
——, canonry of, rector of Linton provided to, 103.
——, dean of, 44, 76.
——, postulate of, *see* Stewart, Alexander.
——, precentor of, executor of, 46.
——, sub-dean of, 44, 77.
——, sub-precentor of, 44 and *n*.
——, treasurer of, 44.
Mordington (Mornigtoun, Morthinton, Mortington), church of, 33, 58, 59.
Morham (Moram, Morbam), church of, 34, 57, 58.
Morpeth, 222, 227.
Mortlach (Morthelac), church of, 41, 66.
Morton, William, 6th earl of, 125 *n*. His daughter, *see* Douglas, Jean.
——, William, 8th earl of, affairs of, 197-8, 204.
Moulin (Mulyn), church of, 47.
Moy, prebend of, 46, 76.
Muckersie (Mukersi, Mutresi), church of, 48, 72.
Muckhart (Michard, Muchard), church of, 37, 64.
Münster, bishop of, invades Holland, 127-9.
Mure, William, of Caldwell, forfeiture of, 143 and *n*.
Muriesone, Mr. Patrick, curate of Duns, 104.
Murray, Archibald, of Blackbarony, made collector of customs and excise, 194.
Murray, Lady Katherine, sister of Countess of Dysart, death of, 193. *See also* Moray.
Murroes (Morens, Muremiysi), vicar of, 38, 63 and *n*.
Muskets, making of, in Scotland, 204.
Muslin, manufacture of, at Beith, 250, 289.
Musselburgh (Muskellburg, Muskiburg), Mr. John de, 36 and *n*.
——, lordship of, admiralty rights of, 133 and *n*.
——, vicar of, 57, 58; charter by Lauderdale to burgh of, 180, 196.
Muthill (Mothieth, Muthuthe), church of, 54, 71.

Naples, *see* Berard.
Naseby, 157.
Navar (Neutuer), church of, 52 and *n*.
Navigation Act, Scottish wishes asked regarding, 148; difficulties over, in negotiations for Union, 153; King expected to dispense with, 158.
Navy, removal of Anglesey from office of treasurer of the, 168; commissioners of the, to act regarding payment of duty on timber in Scotland, 192.
Neidpath Castle, Tweeddale writes from, 159.
Nenthorn (Naythanthirn, Noycherchin), vicar of, 33 and *n*, 59.
Neville's Cross, battle of, 101
New College, Leicester, provision regarding keeping chests of, 109.
—— Galloway, M.P. for, 224.
—— Kilmarnock, *see* Fenwick.
Newbattle, Robert, Lord, 195, 199; agreement between Argyll and, 196.
Newburgh, earl of, 234.
Newburn (Nithbren), vicar of, 38 and *n*.
Newdosk (Nendosk), church of, 64.
Newmarket, 162, 164, 170, 208-10, 226, 233, 235.
Newnakle (Neuoth), church of, 50; vicar of, 50.
Newton (Nencon, Neutoun, Newtoune), George de, rector of Duns, 103.
——, church of, 34, 56.
—— Stewart, 21, 75 *n*.
Newtyle (Neutil), vicar of, 38, 63.

Nicholas IV., pope, 10 ; taxation of, 10.
Nicolson, Sir James, of Cockburnspath, 171.
Nigg (Nigge), church of, 49 ; vicar of, 50.
Nisbet, Sir John, of Dirleton, *see* Lord Advocate.
Nithsdale, Robert, 2nd earl of, 132.
Nonconformists, religious works by, 282 and *n*, 305 and *n*, 309 and *n*. *And see* Covenanters.
North Berwick (Norberwic, Norberwyc), vicar of, 33 and *n*, 57, 58 ; nuns of, 37 *n*.
Norway, 16.
Nottingham (Notingham), Master Henry de, 16 and *n*, 51 and *n*, 68.
——, 16 *n*, 227.

OATHLAW, *see* Finaven.
Obeney, prebend of, 49 and *n*, 74.
Obit books, 108.
Oblivion, Act of, 145.
Olrig (Olric), church dedication of, 18 ; prebend of, 51, 69.
O'Neil (Onel), hospital of, *see* Kincardine O'Neil.
Orange, William, prince of, to visit England, 237.
Orkney, Andrew Honeyman, bishop of, wounding of, 166 *n*, 167.
—— and Shetland, question of grant of, to Morton, 197-8, 204, 206-7, 209, 210.
Orleans, Henrietta, duchess of, sister of Charles II., 226 and *n*.
——, Philip, duke of, 226 and *n*.
Ormiston, church of, 58.
Ormond, duke of, resigns lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, 203 ; at Hampton Court, 208.
Ossory (Orsery), earl of, lord deputy of Ireland, Covenanter captured by, 196 ; to go to Holland, 237.
Otterburn, Gilbert, rector of Pinkerton, 106.
——, John, archpriest of Dunbar, 105.
Our Lady College, Glasgow, 83.
Owen, John, religious author, 309 and *n*.
Oxford, letters dated at, 126, 128, 129 ; Court at, 127 ; lords of session to visit, 235.
Oyne (Ouen), church of, 40, 67.

PAISLEY (Passelay), abbot of, 34, 36, 57 ; silk-weaving industry at, 250, 288-9 ; executions for witchcraft at, 283 *n* ; minister of, *see* Stirling, Mr. James ; secession minister of, *see* Alice, James.
Panbride (Panbrid), vicar of, 52, 70.
Paris, 63 *n* ; Sir William Bellenden at, 211 ; Duke of Buckingham returns from, 228.
Parishes, statistics of, 256.
Parliament, English, prorogation of, its causes and effects, 160, 178 ; position of, regarding the Union, 224.
——, Scottish, matters to be treated by, and arrangements for riding of, 221 ; debate in, on proposed Union, 223-6 ; commissioner to, *see* (1) Lauderdale, earl of, (2) Rothes, earl of.
Parton (Parcon), church of, 75.
Patrick, parson of Duns, 103.
——, Dr. Simon, rector of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, 179.
Peden, Alexander, covenanter, 280.
Peeblesshire, captaincy of militia in, 159.
Peers, question of numbers and position of Scottish, after Union, 180, 238.
Pelatinus, Lord Odo, 31.
Pelle, Thomas, 69.
Pencaitland (Penchland, Penteland, Pentland), church of, in archdeaconry of Lothian, 33 ; in deanery of Linlithgow (*sic*), 56 ; in deanery of Haddington, 57. *See also* Pentland.
Penkevel, chantry foundation of St. Michael at, 83.
Penninghame (Peningham), church of, 21, 75 and *n*.
Penshiel (Panneschelys, Panschell), chapel of, annexed to parish church and to collegiate church of Dunbar, 82, 90, 98, 102-3.
Pentland (Pentaeland, Pentathat), [? Pinkerton], church of, 22, 33 and *n*, 57 and *n*, 58. *See also* Pencaitland.
Persia, knowledge of, 284.
Perth (Perch), ecclesiastical council at, 5, 14 ; vicar of, 22, 40 ; secession minister of, *see* Wilson, Mr. William.
Perthshire, formation of militia in, 165.

Peterhead, *see* Peterugie.
Peterugie (Inuerugy Petri, Inverugi Petri), church of, 43 and *n*, 68.
Pett, Phineas, shipbuilder to the admiralty, complains regarding customs payments on timber in Scotland, 190-2.
Petty (Petyn), church of, 44, 76; vicar of, 44, 76.
Philorth (Filorth), church of, 18, 43 and *n*, 68.
Pikard, Mr. H., 63 and *n*.
Pike, Samuel, religious author, 305 and *n*.
Pinkerton (Pynkartoun), township of, prebend of Dunbar, 84, 93, 99; appropriated to Chapel Royal, 86, 106; site of chapel of, 106; rectors and prebendaries of, 106; value of prebend of, 106; endowment of collegiate church of Dunglass from, 106. *See also* Pentland.
Pitcox (Petcokkys), township of, prebend of Dunbar, 84, 93, 99; chapel of, replaced by parish church at Stenton, 107; rectors of, 107; value of rectory of, 107.
Pluscardine (Pleshardyn, Ploshardyn), prior of, 44, 76.
Political parties, and opinions in 18th-century Ayrshire, 250, 285, 298.
Poll-tax, suggested position of, after Union, 238.
Polwarth (Ponlewrd, Ponlewrnd), church of, 22, 56, 60.
Polynesian Islands, knowledge of, 284.
Poole, Matthew, religious author, 309 and *n*.
Pope, 51 *n*; Bagimond sent to Scotland by, 3, 5; Edward I. sends emissaries to, 7; loan to King of Sicily by, 15, 30-1. *And see* Gregory X.; Honorius IV.; Martin IV.; Nicholas IV.
——, chamberlain of, *see* Berard; Veçano, Mr. Geoffrey de.
Portsmouth, 239.
Portugal, tenths of, 4, 31; knowledge of, 284.
Post, Donald, provided to benefice, 101.
——, attempt to establish regular, between Scotland and Ireland, 157 and *n*.
Prebendaries, distinction between, and canons, 105. *See also* Canons.
Premnay (Prameth), vicar of, 41, 66.
Presbyterians, divisions among, 251, 298; influx of persecuted ministers of, into Ireland, 263-4. *And see* Covenanters.
Presbytery, *see* Reformed Presbytery; Secession Church.
Preston (Prestoun, Prestun), Thomas de, canon of Dunkeld, sub-collector, 15, 30.
——, Mr. William, prebendary of Belton, and one of the lords of council, 106.
——, parish of, 18; vicar of, 48, 72.
Prestonkirk, *see* Linton.
Primrose, Sir Archibald, of Chester, 223 *n*.
——, Sir James, declines captaincy in militia, 159.
Prince, The, 157.
Princeton College, N.J., 246, 278 *n*.
Printing, in Glasgow and district, 283.
Privy Council, English, regains power, 141; acts by King in, 158, 178; Anglesey asks to be heard by, 168, 192; Sir William Coventry dismissed from, 208.
—— ——, Scottish, Tweeddale president of, 115; Sir Robert Moray, member of, 117; London section of, 117; Lauderdale's failure to check excesses of, 119; change in policy of, and meeting of, to remove Rothes, 140-1; orders covenanting writings to be burned, 146 *n*; correspondence between King and, 146-8, 152, 160, 166-7, 182, 222; appointment by, 161; to thank Lord Deputy of Ireland for capture of Covenanter, 196. *See also* Council of Trade.
Prizes, levies on, 179-80; questions concerning, 190-1.
Pulicum et Rimbertinorum de Florencia, Societas, 28, 31.
Puritans, religious writings by, 282 and *n*, 309 and *n*, 328 *n*.

Quaich-maker, 181.
Queen, of England, *see* Catherine.
——, of Scotland, *see* Anne.
——, of Scots, *see* Scots.
Quhittinghame, *see* Whittingehame.

Rafford, prebend of, 44 *n*.
Rait, 35 *n*, 47 *n*. *And see* Rathmeth.
Ramsay, Sir Andrew, of Abbotshall, provost of Edinburgh, 149 and *n*, 152 ; purchase of the Bass from, 161 *n* ; Lauderdale's assurances to, 173 ; on parliamentary committee regarding terms of Union, 223.
Randolph, Agnes (Black Agnes), wife of Patrick, earl of March, succeeds her brother in estates of earldom of Moray, 101.
Rathen (Rathi), church of, 43, 68.
Rathmeth (Rathineth), church of, 47 and *n*, 73. *And see* Rait.
Rathmuriel, vicar of, 41, 67.
Ratho (Rachen, Ratheu), church of, 34, 56.
Rathven (Rethan, Rotheuen), hospital of, 44 and *n*, 66.
Rattray (Retref), church of, Aberdeen diocese, 43 and *n*, 67.
——, prebend of, Dunkeld diocese, 48, 73.
Rayne (Raan), church of, 41, 67.
Reay (Ra), church of, 18 ; vicar of, 51, 68.
Rebellions of '15 and '45, tales of, 249, 281.
Receivers, examination of, regarding false payments, 204.
Red Lyon Inn, 122.
Redgorton (Rothgorteuyn), church of, 47.
Reformed Presbytery, Church of the, 301.
Relief Church, 298, 301.
Religious parties and opinions in 18th-century Ayrshire, 250-1, 285, 298.
Remonstrators, *see* Covenanters.
Renfrewshire, 255 ; witchcraft in, 282-3 and *n*.
Resolis, 50 *n*.
Restalrig (Lastalric), church of, 35, 56.
——, collegiate church of, 83, 105 ; common fund in, 107 ; insignia of, 108.
Restennet (Dustinot, Rustinoth), prior of, 40, 65.
Revenue, reform in collection of, 194-5 ; adjustments in Seton's lease of, 198-201, 205, 210-11.
Rhinns (Remes), deanery of, 17 ; receipts from, 75.
Rhynie (Ryni), church of, 44, 76 ; vicar of, 44, 76.
Riccardorum de Lucca, Societas, 28, 31.
Richard, parson of Linton, 103.
——, Mr. prebend of, 71 and *n*.
Richmond, duke of, *see* Lennox, duke of.
Rig, John, custodian of seal of Lincluden, 108.
Rimbertinorum, *see* Pulicum.
Robartes, John, Baron, keeper of the Privy Seal, made lord-lieutenant of Ireland, 203, 207.
Robertson, James, secession minister of Kilmarnock, biographical sketch of, 325-8.
Roger, canon of Abernethy, 81 *n*.
Roman Catholics, absence of, in Beith, 250, 298.
Rome, court of, 5, 7, 8, 9, 14, 16. *See also* Curia ; Pope.
Ross, Thomas, governor of Duke of Monmouth and curator of Duchess of Buccleuch, 132 and *n*.
——, bishopric of, 18 ; receipts from, 26, 49-51, 68.
——, chancellor of, 49.
——, treasurer of, 49 and *n*.
Ross-shire, M.P. for, 224-5.
Rossanclearagh (Rossincleragh), vicar of, 38 and *n*.
Rossie, *see* Rossanclearagh.
Rosskeen (Roskeuen, Roskeuene), church of, 50 ; vicar of, 50.
Rothes, John, 7th earl of, lord chancellor, lord high commissioner, and commissioner to parliament, 126 ; submission by, regarding Buccleuch inheritance, 131 ; removal of, from offices at instance of Lauderdale's group, 140-1 ; recommends Dalyell to King, 143 ; conference with King about his offices, 144 ; Hamilton's complaints to, 145 ; deprived of his offices, 146 and *n* ; instructions regarding militia sent to, 159 ; notified of levying of troops for service abroad, 160, 162 ; Lauderdale's report to, of negotiation for Union, 174-5, 180 ; letter to, regarding militia, and remission of cattle duty, 182 ; messages to, 192, 195, 196, 200 ; question of revenue not discussed between Lauderdale and, 206 ; position of, in militia, 206 ; wishes to

know if Lauderdale is to return to Scotland, 212 ; residence of, at Holyrood, 214-6 ; payment to, as commissioner to Parliament, 220 ; with Lauderdale in London, 227 ; part of, in negotiations for Union, 228.
Rothes, Jean, countess of, *see* Hay, Jean.
Rothiemurchus (Rathamurgus), church of, 45.
Rothmell, lands of, 47 *n*.
Rotterdam, Scottish trade with, 167 and *n*, 173, 190.
Ruckles, in castle doors, 260.
Ruddington, near Nottingham, 16 *n*.
Ruffel (Rossel), prebend of, 48, 73.
Rutherford, Archibald, 3rd Lord, 234.
——, Sir Thomas R., of Hunthill, 2nd Lord, escheat of, given to Sir William Sharp, 162.
——, Samuel, minister of Anwoth and principal of St. Mary's College, works by, 282 and *n*, 305.
Ruthven (Rocheuen), vicar of, 48 and *n*, 72.

St. Albans, 227.
St. Andrews, archbishop of, *see* Sharp, James.
——, archdeaconry of, 12, 13 ; receipts from, 36-40, 60-5 ; archdeacon of, 62, 64.
——, bishop of, 34, 56 ; official of, 36 *n* ; relations of, and collegiate clergy of Dunbar, 94-5, 99-100 ; petition to, 101. *And see* Bernham, David de ; Landallis, William de ; Wardlaw, Henry.
——, church of, oath taken at and in favour of, by Earl of March, 96, 100.
——, collegiate church in, founded by Culdees, 81 and *n* ; provost of, *see* Makerston, Mr. Adam de.
——, diocese of, 11-13, 17, 18, 19 ; receipts from, 25, 32-40, 55-65.
——, monastery and priory of, procurator of, 34, 36 *n* ; prior of, 39, 42, 56, 57, 64, 65 ; possessions of, in Lothian, 39 ; sacrist of, 40 ; dispute between prior and convent of, and Culdees, 81 *n* ; consent of prior and chapter of, to charter of erection of collegiate church of Dunbar, 89, 97, 100 ; prior and chapter of, petitioned for benefice, 101.
St. Andrews, town and university of, grants of excise to, 164.
St. Anthony, Leith, obit book of preceptory of, 108.
St. Cyrus, *see* Ecclesgreig.
St. Fergus, *see* Longley.
St. Germains (Sancto Germano), brothers of, 58 and *n*.
St. James's, 228.
St. John Baptist, chaplaincy of, founded at Linton, 103.
St. Mary Ottery, foundation charter of, 105.
St. Mary's, Haddington, collegiate rights granted to, 108.
St. Mary's-on-the-Rock, St. Andrews, origin of collegiate church of, 81 and *n*.
St. Mary's College, principal of, *see* Rutherford, Samuel.
St. Michael's, Penkevel, 83.
St. Monans, 21, 37 *n*.
St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, proceedings of chapter of, 108. *See also* Aberdeen, church of.
St. Ninian's, *see* Kirkton.
St. Oswald, dedication of church of Whittingehame to, 102.
Salt, Dort wishes Scottish exports of, 173 ; question regarding tax on, and King's views on, 175 ; Earl of Wemyss's attempt to obtain exemption from duty on, 175-6 and *n* ; position of tax on, on appointment of collectors of revenue, 195 ; adjustments on lease of revenue, including tax on, 198-201 ; pre-emption of, 221-2.
Saltoun, Alexander, Lord, 169.
Sancto Quintino, Mr. Gebert de, 31.
Sandwick, *see* Sennick.
Satan's Invisible World Discovered, 249, 282 and *n*.
Saulseat (Sede Animarum), monastery of, 75.
Saulyn, G. de, 42, 68.
Scandinavia, 5.
Schools, Sabbath, 275. *And see* Education.
Scone (Schon, Schona), abbot of, 40, 65.
Scoonie (Schony, Sconyn), church of, 21 ; vicar of, 39 and *n*, 62.
Scot, Mr. John, 53, 70.
Scotland, Bagimond papal collector in, 3 ff. ; Anglo-papal policy in, 6 ff. ; Edward I. dominant in, 10-11 ; limits of kingdom of, under

Alexander III., 16-17; parochial organisation in, 19; annexations and hospitals in, 20; movements of population in, 20-21; collegiate churches in, 81-6; administration of, 115; Sir Robert Moray's work in, 118; proposed union of England and, 118, 119, 120, 153 and *n*; Lady Lauderdale in, 119; excesses of privy councillors in, 119; trade relations of, with England, 119-20; Lauderdale's visits to, 120; Council of State and settlement of, 121-2; raising and payment of troops in, 137-8, 142; questions regarding trade of, with England, 141 and *n*, 142; Dalyell's report on state of, 143; Moray's proposed investigation in West of, 154-5; attempt to establish postal communication between Ireland and, 157 and *n*; troops levied in, for service abroad, 160, 162; trade between Low Countries and, 167 and *n*, 173, 190; complaint regarding tax on cattle from, 182, 192; complaint regarding duty levied on timber in, 190, 192; making of muskets in, 204; Lauderdale and King approve plan for West of, 206-8; covenanting minister to be banished from, 207; Tweeddale to leave, 212, 213; question of succession to crown of, 224; Lauderdale's journey from, 227-8; Tweeddale reports on religious situation in West of, 236; 290. *See also* Church of Scotland; Union.

Scotlandwell (Fontis Scocie), master of, 37, 61.

Scots, king of, *see* Alexander III.; David I.; David II.; James IV.; Malcolm IV.; William the Lion.

——, Margaret, queen of, 10.

Scott, David, son of Walter, 1st earl of Buccleuch, 130-1.

——, Jean, *see* Tweeddale, countess of.

——, Mary, daughter of Walter, 1st earl of Buccleuch, 130-1.

——, Colonel, 162.

Scottish Church, resentment in, against imposition of new taxation, 5, 6, 7; effect of wars upon, 11; taxation rolls of, 12-14; foreign clerics in, 16; agents of, at Roman Court, 16.

Scottish Church, tenths of, part of general scheme of taxation, 5; resentment against, 6; diverted to use of Edward I., 6-11; collection of, 15; granted to king of France, 15, 29; loan to king of Sicily from, 31; Bagimond's Roll concerning, 32 ff.

Secession Church, origins of, 245 *n*, 328 *n*; union of branches of, 247, 333; character of membership, eldership and ministry of, 251, 303-12; sketches of ministers of, 312-32; difficulties of, and divisions in, 318, 322, 332-3; first ministers of, 323; progress of, 329-30; education of students of, 329-30. *See also* Associate Synod.

Semple, collegiate church of, 105.

Sennick (Sanneck), church of, 74 and *n*.

Serini, Count Peter, 226 and *n*.

Session, lords of, to visit Oxford and Cambridge, 235.

Sessions, characteristics of, in established and seceding churches, 305-7.

Seton, Sir Walter, of Abercorn, position of, and his lease of revenue, 161 and *n*, 173, 198-201, 205-7, 210-11.

—— (Seccon, Sectoun), church of, 33, 57, 58.

Sharp, James, archbishop of St. Andrews, at Highgate with Lauderdale, 114, 164; to see Tweeddale at Edinburgh, 126-7; advice of, regarding raising and payment of troops in Scotland, 137-8; Lauderdale's message to, 149, 152; reported journey of, to London, 155; conduct of, during his visit to London, 162-4; attempt on life of, 166 and *n*; Lauderdale's opinion of, 166; precept to be given to, 169; attempt of, to influence King regarding provost of Edinburgh, 173; nominations by, to commission for surrenders, 191-2; Lauderdale dislikes tone of letter from, 199; Tweeddale to consult with, about religious policy, 212; negotiations with, 214-17, 219; on committee to reply to the King anent Union, 223.

Sharp, Sir William, of Stonyhill, brother of Archbishop Sharp and H.M. Cashkeeper, 128, 153, 155, 161; grant of Dalswinton to, 169 and *n*, 172, 205; Lauderdale's letter to, 173; grant of bastardy to, 179; to pay for quaichs for Lauderdale, 181; added to commission for valuations, 192; to be consulted regarding adjustments in lease of revenue, 200; order from, for payment of commissioners for Union, 234.
Sheerness, King and Lauderdale at, 217.
Shetland, *see* Zetland.
Sicily, king of, *see* Charles of Anjou.
Siena, merchants of, *see* Bernardini.
Silk, *see* Weaving.
Sinclair, John, ninth Lord, 122 and *n*.
——, Mr. George, professor of philosophy, author on witchcraft, 282 *n*.
——, Sir John, his parish statistics, 256.
——, Sir Robert, dean of faculty, 151 and *n*.
——, Colonel, 191, 197.
'Sir Simon,' sobriquet for Earl of Tweeddale, 115.
Skinner, case of East India Co. and, 178 and *n*.
Skinnet (Scynand), church of, 69 and *n*.
Slains (Slanes), church of, 43, 68.
Slamannan (Slefmanyn, Slemanan), church of, 34, 56 (2).
Smailholm (Smalhame), church of, 34.
Smeaton (Smyton), David, minister of Kilmaurs, biographical sketch of, 329-32.
Smuggling, 250, 290-1.
S.P.C.K., 283.
Sodor, diocese of, 16 and *n*.
Soltre (Solcre), house of, 20, 57 *n*; brother of, 57, 58.
Somerset House, commissioners for Union to meet in, 228, 230-1.
Song school, in collegiate churches, 85; at Dunbar, 85.
Sorbie, parish of, 75 *n*.
Southampton, 221.
Southesk, earl of, *see* Carnegie, Robert, Lord.
Soutra, *see* Soltre.
Sovereign, 157.
Spain, 5; expected to oppose French assistance to Holland, 128; ratifies treaty with England, 160; knowledge of, 284.
——, king of, 127.
Speaker, Lauderdale dines with the, 228.
Spiliaci de Florencia, Lord Thomas, Societas, 27, 28, 31.
Spinning industry, in Ayrshire, 250, 289-90.
Sports, in 18th-century Ayrshire, 249-50, 286-8.
Spott, chapel of, annexed to parish church and to collegiate church of Dunbar, 82, 90, 92, 102; township of, prebend of Dunbar, 84, 93, 99; prebend of, appropriated to Chapel Royal, 86, 102; value of rectory of, 102; rectors of, 102; laird of, 143; minister of, *see* Kello, Mr. John.
Spynie (Spiny, Spyni), church of, 45, 76; vicar of, 45, 76.
Stair, Sir James Dalrymple, Lord, grant to, 202.
Stamford, 227.
Staple, location of Scottish, in Low Countries, 167 and *n*, 173, 190.
Stenton (Stantoun), chapel of, annexed to parish church and to collegiate church of Dunbar, 82, 90, 98, 102; parish church at, replaces chapel at Pitcox, 107.
Stewart (Steuart, Stuart), Alexander, dean of Dunbar and postulate of Moray, 104.
——, Mr. James, of Goodtrees, 146 *n*.
——, Sir James, provost of Edinburgh, 209 and *n*.
——, Mr., 215. *See also* Stuarts.
Stewarton, in Cunningham, 225; bonnet-making at, 228; secession congregation founded at, 330.
Stilton, 227.
Stirling, Mr. James, minister of Paisley, 146 *n*.
—— (Strinelyn, Strinlin, Striuelyn), Mr. R. de, prebend of, 54.
——, vicar of, 55, 56. *See also* Chapel Royal.
Stitchill (Scichill, Stichil, Stichill), vicar of, 34, 59 (2).
Stoneykirk (Stanacra), church of, 75; parish of, 75 *n*.
Stormont, David, 4th Viscount, 151.

Stow, *see* Wedale.
Stracathro (Struchaerat), church of, 52 and *n*.
Strachan (Stratheth), church of, 52 and *n*.
Strageich (Struget, Strughet), vicar of, 54 and *n*, 71.
Stranraer, 255.
Strathallan, Viscount, *see* Drummond, William.
Strathbrock (Strabroc, Strabrok), church of, 34 and *n*, 55, 56.
Strathdighty (Strathegtyn), church of, 69 and *n*.
Strathdon, *see* Invernochtie.
Strathmiglo (Stramigloc, Strathmigloc), vicar of, 48, 72.
Strowan (S. Truban, Scutinar, Struan), Dunblane diocese, church of, 53 and *n*, 70.
——, Dunkeld diocese, church of, 47, 73.
Stuarts, persecutions of Presbyterians under, 263, 280-1.
Succession, question of, in proposed treaty of Union, 224, 229, 231-2, 235.
Suddy (Sicthye), vicar of, 50.
Surrenders, commission for, Archbishop Sharp's nominations to, 191-2.
Sutherland, 68.
Swedes, expected to join in invasion of Holland, 128.
Swinton (Swyncon, Swynton, Swyntoun), vicar of, 35, 58, 59.
Sylvius, Sir Gabriel, 237.
Synod, *see* Associate Synod.

Tain (Tayn, Thany), church of, 18, 49; vicar of, 50; collegiate church of, jurisdiction of provost of, 105.
Tait, Peter, printer in Glasgow, 284.
Tannadice (Thanchais, Thawentetcys), church of, 36, 60. *And see* Cametays.
Tarbat (Tarbere), church of, 49; vicar of, 49.
Tarland (Taruelan), vicar of, 42, 66.
Tarradale (Taruedal), church of, 50 and *n*.
Tarras, Walter, earl of, 131 *n*. His wife, *see* Buccleuch, Mary, countess of.
Tartie, 43 *n*.
Tarves (Garnais, Toruais), vicar of, 43, 68.
Taylor, James, secession minister of Ayr, biographical sketch of, 323-5, 326; his wife, 323.
Tealing (Telyn), church of, 48, 72.
Temple, Sir William, 234-5.
——, parish of, 57 *n*.
Terveer, not suited to be staple, 173.
Teviotdale, archdeaconry of, 19 *n*.
Thread, manufacture and export of, in Ayrshire, 289-90.
Thurso (Turishau, Thorsan), vicar of, 51, 68.
Tibbermore (Tobermor, Tubermor), vicar of, 48, 72.
Timber, complaint regarding duty levied on, in Scotland, 190, 192.
Tobacconist, trade of, 312-13.
Tolbooth, Edinburgh, minister of, *see* Hutchison, Mr. George.
Tollemache, Sir Lionel, husband of Countess of Dysart, death of, 192.
Tongland (Tingeland), monastery of, 74.
Tories, 250, 298.
Torry (Torri), church of, 37, 62.
Toskerton (Tuskercon), church of, 75 and *n*.
Towie, *see* Kinbathock.
Trade, Lauderdale on questions regarding, 141-2; instructions for, 166-7 and *n*; between Scotland and Low Countries, 167 and *n*, 173, 190. *See also* Council of Trade.
Traill (Insula de Trahil), 74.
Tranent (Grauernenthe, Tranernent), vicar of, 57, 58.
Treasurer, at Hampton Court, 208; takes part in negotiations for Union, 222. *See also* Lord High Treasurer.
Treasury, to be kept in commission in both England and Scotland, 144; Sir William Coventry dismissed from English, 208.
——, commissioners of Scottish, appointment of, 152 and *n*; Lauderdale to send king's commands to, 154; to restrain grants of pensions, 171; alterations in, 175 and *n*; new commission for, 182; letter from, regarding earl of Morton's affairs, 198; letter to, regarding forfeited estates, 202, 210; position of, regarding Seton's lease of revenue and grant of Dal-

swinton, 205 ; audit of accounts of, 210, 212 ; letter to, regarding salt and foreign coal, 222.
Trevor, Sir John, secretary of state, 190, 222.
Trinity College, Edinburgh, 81, 83 ; financial arrangement in, 107 ; proceedings of chapter of, 108.
—— ——, Glasgow, 246.
Trinity Gask (Gasc, Gascrist), vicar of, 54 and *n*, 71.
Troon, smuggling at, 290.
Troops, raising of, for service abroad, 160, 162. *See also* Militia.
Troqueer (Treuercarcou), church of, 74.
Truro, 83.
Tulliallan (Tulialury, Tullalwy), church of, 54, 72.
Tullibody (Tubbothen, Tullibothnyn), church of, 54, 71.
Tullich (Thuluth, Tulugh), church of, 41, 66.
Tullynestle (Tulynestin, Tulynestyn), church of, 41, 67.
Turks, war with, 226.
Turner, Lady Isabelle, 193-4.
——, Sir James, 142 and *n*, 156.
Turriff (Surreth, Torreth), hospital of, 44 and *n*, 66.
Tuxford, 227.
Tweeddale, John, 2nd earl of, correspondence between Lauderdale, Sir Robert Moray, and, 113 *et seq.* ; friendship of, with Lauderdale, 114-5, 118 ; appointed president of Scottish Privy Council, 115 ; imprisonment and reinstatement of, 115 ; part of, in administration of Scotland, 115 ; his children and grandchildren, 116-17 ; on way to London, 117 ; elevation of, to dukedom, 118 ; his part in obtaining Lauderdale's release, 121-5 ; commissioner for Duke of Monmouth, 129 *n* ; financial tangle between Buccleuchs and family of, 130-3, 139-40 ; intrigue between Lauderdale and, to obtain removal of Rothes, 140-1 ; returns to Yester from London, 145 and *n* ; King's memorial to, regarding covenanting writers in Holland, 146-7 ; at Neidpath, 159 ; token of King's favour to, 194 ; Lauderdale and the King approve his plans for Highlands and West, 206-7 ; proposal of, concerning Hawick, 211 ; his paper on the Church and King's desire to see him thereanent, 211-12 ; coolness between Lauderdale's friend and, 218 ; writes to Moray from Holyroodhouse, 223 ; his journey south, 227 ; Moray writes to, about progress of Union negotiations, etc., 229, 233-7 ; reports to Moray on religious situation in West, 236 ; coolness between Lauderdale and, 238-9 ; Lauderdale's thanks to, for congratulations on his recent honours, 240. His son, *see* Yester, Lord.
Tweeddale, Jean Scott, daughter of Walter, 1st earl of Buccleuch and countess of, her claim to Buccleuch estates, 130 and *n*, 131, 139-40 ; birth of a child to, 165, 181, 213, 220, 227-8, 240.
Twynholm (Tuinham), vicar of, 74.
Tyburn, execution at, 181.
Tynninghame (Timingeham, Timingham, Tynigham), church of, 33, 57, 58.
Tyrie (Tiry, Tyry), vicar of, 43, 66.

Union, proposed between England and Scotland, 118-120, 153 and *n* ; meetings for negotiations concerning, 168, 170, 171 ; progress of negotiations for, and King's attitude to, 173-4 ; effect of, on Scottish duties, 175 ; cabal forming against, 213-14 ; commission for, 214-16 ; Lauderdale consults King about, 220 ; difficulties in way of, 221-2 ; debate concerning, 223-5 ; commissioners for, travel to London, 227 ; negotiations for, 227-35, 237-8 ; payment of commissioners for, 234.
Unitarians, 250, 298.
United Presbyterian Church, Wellington Street congregation of, 246.
—— Provinces, *see* Low Countries.
Uphall, *see* Strathbrock.
Upsetlington (Hupsetlingtoun, Opsechinton), church of, 35 and *n*, 56.
Urquhart (Dunthard, Urchard, Wrhard), church of, 49 and *n* ; vicar of, 51.
——, prior of, 44, 76.
Urray, 50 *n*.

Urrie, William, commission of, as major, 156-7.
Utrecht, professor at, *see* Witsen, Herman.

Valuation, of teinds, commission for, Sharp's nominations to, 191-2.
Van Diemen's Land, knowledge of, 284.
Vane (Wayn), Sir Henry, 123 and *n*, 124, 125.
Varia Capella, *see* Falkirk.
Veçano, Mr. Geoffrey de (Giffredus de Veçan), collector in England, 8; cites Bagimond, 9; to settle with Bagimond's executors, 10; clerk of Camera, 29.
Verdun, bishop-elect of, *see* Grandson.
Vice-Chamberlain, Mr., 208.
Vicia (Vitia), Baiamundus (Boyamundus) de, *see* Bagimond.
Villa Franca, Mr. Conrad de, 29.
Virginia, endeavour to have ship sent to, 142 and *n*.
Visees, in castle doors, 260.
Vthercham [? Edderton], vicar of, 50.

Walais (Walays), Mr. Simon, 53, 70 (2).
Wallace, Sir William, tradition of, in Ayrshire, 249, 281.
Waltersoun, Mr. Robert, provost of Bothans and archpriest of Dunbar, 105.
Ward, Mr., proceedings against for libellous writings, 146.
Wardlaw, Henry, bishop of St. Andrews, confirms charter of erection of collegiate church of Dunbar, 89, 97-8, 100-1.
—— (Wardlar, Wardlau), vicar of, 46 and *n*, 76.
Ware, letter dated at, 145.
Waterlow Park, site of Lauderdale's London house, 114.
Wayn, *see* Vane.
Weaving industry, in Paisley and Ayrshire, 250, 288-9.
Wedale (Wedehale), vicar of, 59, 60 and *n*.
Wedderburn, Sir Peter, of Gosford, clerk of Privy Council, 160; opposes Union as M.P. for Haddingtonshire, 225.
Weem (Weme, Wem), church of, 47, 73.
Wellington Street, Glasgow, secession church of, 245-6; minister of, *see* Mitchell, Dr. John.
Wellwood, Andrew, religious author, 305 and *n*.
Welsh (Welch), John, presbyterian leader, 280.
Wemyss, earl of, submission of, regarding Buccleuch inheritance, 131; attempts to gain exemption from duty on his salt exports, 175-6 and *n*.
West of Scotland, Moray's proposed investigation in, 154-5; Lauderdale and King approve plan for, 206-8; Tweeddale reports on religious situation in, 236.
West Indian prize captured, 190-1, 197.
—— Indies, export of thread from Scotland to, 290.
—— Linton, *see* Linton-Roderick.
Westphalia, *see* Münster.
Whigs, 250, 298.
White, Sir John, rector of Pitcox, 107.
Whitehall, Lauderdale's attendance at, 114; letters dated at, 125, 135, 140, 141, 144 and *passim*.
Whitekirk, parish of, 33 *n*.
Whitelaw, Mr. Archibald, dean of Dunbar, 104.
Whithorn (Candida Casa), priory of, 75.
Whitsome (Wichosem, Withosine), church of, 35, 60.
Whittingehame (Quhittinghame. Witigham, Witingham), chapel and parish of, annexed to parish church and to collegiate church of Dunbar, 82, 84, 90, 92, 98, 99, 102; church of, served by vicar, 82, 94, 99, 102; dedication of church of, 102; parsons of, 102.
Wichard (Witeberd), John, 53, 69 and *n*.
Wigton, John, 4th earl of, made captain of militia, 182.
William the Lion, king of Scots, 11, 13, 42 *n*.
——, bishop of Moray, *see* Moray, bishopric of.
——, bishop of St. Andrews, *see* Landallis, William de.
——, parson of Linton. 103.
Wilson, Mr. William, secession minister of Perth and professor of divinity, daughter of, marries Rev. William Jameson, 323.

Winchester, George Morley, bishop of, Burnet's letters to, 163.
Windsor Castle, Lauderdale released from, 115; letters dated at, 121-2.
'Winkiepitcher,' 149, 181, 197, 199.
Winton, George, 4th earl of, pass granted to, for travelling, 170 and *n*, 177, 181.
Witchcraft, work on, 249; prevalence of, in Renfrewshire, 282-3 and *n*.
Witherspoon, Dr. John, minister of Beith and principal of Princeton College, 278 and *n*.
Witsen (Witsius), Herman, professor of theology, works by, 309 and *n*.
Wood, *see* Bosco, Mr. S. de.
Worcester, Charles II.'s defeat at, 115.

Yester, John, Lord, son and heir of Earl of Tweeddale, marriage of, with Lauderdale's daughter, 115-16; his children, 116-17; at Yester and London, 117; proposed journey of, to France, 127, 129; attendance of, at Court, 127; Sir Robert Moray's views on his proposed marriage, 135-7; Lauderdale's consent to marriage of, with his daughter, 139; illness of, 147-8; health of, 160; to go to Scotland with Lauderdale, 170; supplements correspondence between his father and Lauderdale, 176, 180, 192, 202, 211; illness of his eldest son, 184-9, 192; at Ham, 199; at Hampton Court, 208; at Lambeth with Lauderdale, 209; Tweeddale to return to Scotland with, 212; in Scotland, 213-14, 217; to be with Lauderdale at Holyrood, 215; Lauderdale urges departure of, for London, and his arrival there, 220; Lauderdale's commendation of, 222; goes to meet his father, 227; leaves Lauderdale, 227, 228, 240. His wife, *see* Maitland, Mary.
——, Tweeddale's residence at, 117, 143 *n*, 145, 158, 211, 213, 230, 233, 238. *See also* Bothans.
York, James, duke of, 145, 192, 235 (?); papers of, searched, 209-10; French ships join, against Dutch, 239.
——, diocese of Galloway a suffragan of, 17.
Young, Robert, archpriest and dean of Dunbar, 89, 97-8, 100-1, 104-5. *See also* Douglas, Archibald, earl of.

Zetland, capture of West Indian prize at, 190-1, 197. *See also* Orkney.

REPORT OF THE FIFTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

The Fifty-Second Annual Meeting of the Society was held in the Caledonian Hotel, Edinburgh, on Saturday, 10th December 1938, at 3 p.m. The Rt. Hon. Lord Clyde, LL.D., President of the Society, occupied the chair.

The Report of the Council was as follows :—

Since the last report of the Council three volumes have been issued to members. Of these, the first was *Early Letters of Robert Wodrow*, which fills a gap in the publications of the Wodrow Society. Under the sympathetic editorship of Dr. L. W. Sharp these letters present a very human portrait of Principal Wodrow in his early years. *The Chronicle of Holyrood*, which members received in February, was edited by Dr. Alan O. Anderson and Mrs. Marjorie O. Anderson. The scholarly work of the editors has made this volume one of the major contributions of the Society to medieval Scottish history. *The Jacobite Court at Rome*, 1719, edited by Miss Henrietta Tayler, was issued in September. This volume, which gives a graphic picture of the intrigues that surrounded James Edward, consists of two sections—a narrative by Lord Pitsligo which Miss Tayler found among the manuscripts of Lord Clinton at Fettercairn House, and a selection of letters from the Royal collection of Stuart Papers at Windsor Castle.

It is the first of the two volumes for the year 1937-8: the second—*Inchcolm Charters*, edited by Dr. D. E. Easson and Dr. Angus Macdonald—is in the press, and should be ready for issue during December.

For the year 1938-9 the Council propose to issue a further volume of extracts from the *Diaries of Johnston of Wariston*, which Mr. J. D. Ogilvie is engaged in editing, and also *Miscellany Volume* VI. The latter will include *Bagimont's Roll*, edited by Mrs. Dunlop (Miss Annie I. Cameron) from a manuscript in the Vatican Library; *Letters of the Duke of Lauderdale*, edited by Mr. H. M. Paton; and *Memories of Ayrshire about* 1780 *by the Rev. John Mitchell*, edited by Dr. W. K. Dickson.

New material which the Council have accepted during the past year comprises the *Foundation Charter of Dunbar Collegiate Church*, to be edited by the Rev. D. E. Easson, Ph.D.; a collection of Jacobite Letters in the Vatican Library, to be edited by Miss Helen C. Stewart; and the *Diary of Sir William Drummond of Hawthornden* 1657-9, to be edited by Dr. H. W. Meikle.

In accordance with the policy, pursued since 1919, of issuing in occasional years a single volume instead of two, the Council have decided that *Miscellany Volume* VII shall be the only volume for 1939-40.

On the completion of his term of office, Dr. W. K. Dickson resigned in June from the Chairmanship of the Council. The Council desire to place on record their appreciation of the dignity, tact, and geniality with which he presided over their meetings, and the unremitting zeal with which he has furthered the interests of the Society. In his place the Council have elected Professor R. K. Hannay, His Majesty's Historiographer for Scotland, as Chairman for the ensuing four years. Professor Hannay's eminence as a Scottish historian and his

many valuable services to the Society are well known to all its members.

The members of Council who retire in rotation at this time are Mr. T. Innes of Learney, Mr. Evan M. Barron, and Mr. R. C. Reid. The Council recommend their re-election, and the election of Dr. W. K. Dickson as a member of Council in place of Professor Hannay.

During the year the Society has lost by death or resignation 32 members, while 7 new members have joined. This net decrease of 25 leaves the total membership (including 137 libraries) at 511.

An abstract of the accounts for 1937-8, as audited, is appended.

The adoption of the Report and Accounts was moved by Professor R. K. Hannay, Chairman of Council. After paying tribute to the services which his predecessor, Dr. W. K. Dickson, had rendered to literature and history in Scotland, Professor Hannay said that a society like the Scottish History Society suffered from natural attrition, and it had always been necessary from time to time, in the last twenty years or so, to remind the general public of the conditions under which the Society worked. He did not think that patriotic Scots at all interested in the history of their own country, should, if they knew about the Society, require to be canvassed for an institution of the kind, but he would like to make a general appeal to the public in Scotland for support. A great many people in Scotland used the Society's books and enjoyed the benefits of the Society's work, and took the Society somewhat for granted. But the books had to be printed, and they cost money. He thought that they were in a position now when they could ask patriotic Scots interested in history to look at it from the point of view of the dissemina-

tion of knowledge, and not from the point of view of the prices they paid for the books. The Society's publications went to 33 libraries in the United States of America, to nine or ten in the Dominions, and to eleven Continental libraries, so that between 50 and 60 of their publications went across the sea, other than those absorbed by the libraries of this country. It was good business for Scotland to encourage that export.

Mr. D. B. Morris seconded the motion for adoption, which was unanimously carried.

Lord Clyde then delivered an address. After tracing the connection between the signature by King Robert I in 1327 of a parchment, brought to him in Edinburgh Castle by commissioners of Edward III, and the return of Scottish documents from London to the Register House in 1937, he proceeded : ' Events die the moment they happen. They may make their mark, but they leave no image behind. Yet every event in human life has meanings which relate it to millions of other events ; and, in discovering these meanings and relations, the historian cannot fail to call in aid the illuminating power of his imagination. The dry leaves of fact cannot be made to live again except research and romance go hand in hand. The works of our own Sir Walter Scott are proof of the soundness of this paradox ; and in adopting it we do not adventure ourselves on an uncharted sea of historical speculation with no compass to guide us. For human nature remains fundamentally and unalterably the same, and the direction of its impulses is as certain and invariable as the attraction of the needle to the magnetic pole. Herein, indeed, lies the one solid basis for an understanding of the past. We are the same sort of men and women as were our original parents when they found themselves " on their own " for the first time after the abrupt termination of their occupation of the Garden of Eden ; and the differences between us and those

who have gone before are in accidentals, not in essentials. We are thus on firm ground when we interpret past events, and infer contemporary or subsequent effects, by imagining ourselves as the actors in them.'

The parchment of 1327 was known to history as the Treaty of Northampton. Among its stipulations was one which concerned the restoration to Scotland of her national records. But whatever international lawyers might dream, a treaty depended for its enforcement on the strong arm of the party who had something to gain from its fulfilment, or on the off-chance that subsequent events might make it worth the while of the party who was placed under obligation by it, to adhere to its terms. Taking the period of the struggle with England to cover the 85 years from 1286 to 1371 the Treaty of Northampton stood at the very middle of the most epic period of Scottish history.

By the Treaty two classes of documents were to be restored —first, those 'touching the subjection of the land and people of Scotland,' which had been declared cancelled; and second, all others 'touching the freedom of Scotland' which were in the possession of the King of England. All documents falling within each of these classes were included in the obligation of delivery. What of the many doeuments, then and still preserved among the Records of England, by which English kings had sought to assert the vassalage of Scotland under their paramount superiority? The legal experts—churchmen no doubt—who drew up the Treaty, knew well that when the conferment of a right or the granting of an obligation was being cancelled and discharged, the transaction should be completed by delivery of the document constituting the right or containing the obligation. It was no doubt for that reason that the Treaty required delivery of the first class of documents; they remained, nevertheless, undelivered to this day. Naturally,

however, interest attached mainly to the second class—documents touching the freedom of Scotland which, in 1327, were in the possession of the King of England. Any document touched the freedom of Scotland which proved, or went to prove, the existence of Scotland as an independent kingdom. There were many such among the national records of Scotland which were in the possession of Edward III at the date of the Treaty. It was possible to form some idea of what those documents were from an inventory included among the ten items now restored to Scottish keeping. This inventory bore to have been drawn up in 1282 by the Treasury Clerks of Alexander III. This was the year after the death of Alexander's youngest son David, 'the beginning,' as Fordun said, 'of Scotland's sorrows to come.' The documents enumerated in the inventory were then preserved in the Royal Treasury in the Castle of Edinburgh, and some of them went as far back as the time of William the Lion. All had disappeared from Scotland long before 1327. What had become of them?

A great many things had happened between 1282 and 1327. In 1291 Edward I of England found himself in the position of an arbiter called in to dispose of the kingdom of Scotland to his selected nominee. He began the proceedings by issuing a commission to three persons to examine the documents preserved in the Castle of Edinburgh, or elsewhere in Scotland, which might be found to bear on the succession to the Scottish crown, or on his own rights in reference to Scotland.

This writ was addressed to the Governor of the Castle of Edinburgh, the Bishop of St. Andrews, and the Keeper of the Rolls. These were the officers responsible for the custody of the records in the Castle. The Commissioners lost no time in obtaining access to the Treasury, and collected a number of documents which they enumerated in a new inventory dated 12th August 1291. This inventory was still extant. It by no

means contained all the items contained in the inventory of 1282, but did contain many of them. The question presented itself—what had become of those contained in the inventory of 1282 but not contained in the inventory of 1291? Had they disappeared by some mischance between 1282 and 1291? Or did Edward's Commissioners leave them in the Treasury at the Castle; and, if so, did they perish of neglect there? The only certain thing about them was that they had vanished into thin air. There was no reason to suppose that they had been deliberately destroyed. There was a minute contemporaneous with the inventory of 1291, which recorded the deposit of the documents collected by the Commissioners in a box which was locked and sealed in the presence of eminent witnesses in the Castle of Berwick, to which they had been removed from Edinburgh. Late in 1292 the documents were taken to Roxburgh and a third inventory was made up. A copy of this was still in the Register House, with the Great Seal of Scotland attached. They were next heard of in 1296 after John Baliol had finally surrendered to the King of England all claim to the Scottish crown. Edward's triumphant progress had carried him as far as Elgin, and when he returned he took back with him an abundant harvest of homage from Scottish laymen and churchmen alike. He carried away the Stone of Destiny, the Holy Rood, and, last but not least, the title-deeds of our independence which had lain in the Castle of Roxburgh since 1291. They were carried first to Berwick and thence to London. There they still were in 1323, for Bishop Stapleton examined them there at that time. They were no doubt extant in 1327 when the signatories of the Treaty of Northampton made provision for their return to Scotland. But their history during the six centuries which had elapsed since then was a blank. Enveloped in the gloom of oblivion they had continued a prey to the moth and rust

of neglect until only ten items out of the whole remained—the self-same ten which were returned to the Register House in 1937.

A vote of thanks was accorded to the President on the motion of Mr. James MacLehose, who spoke of Lord Clyde's sure touch and picturesque view of the records and referred to his services to Scottish history and the history of Scots law. Mr. MacLehose also expressed the hope that an index to the Society's first hundred volumes might be compiled.

ABSTRACT Account Charge and Discharge of the Intromissions of the Honorary Treasurer for the year from 1st November 1937 to 1st November 1938.

CHARGE.

I. Deposit Receipt Uplifted—			
1937 Decr. 15—Uplifted Deposit Receipt with the Bank of Scotland, 103 George Street, dated 28th December 1936	£300 0 0		
II. Subscriptions Received		£592 4 0	
III. Past Publications sold to Members		7 1 0	
IV. Interest on Deposit Receipt and Savings Account		9 2 6	
V. Debit Balance at close of this Account, as per Discharge, Branch IV		80 0 5	
Sum of the Charge		£688 7 11	

DISCHARGE.

I. Debit Balance at close of last year's Account		£55 16 7	
II. Cost of Publications.		601 6 8	
III. Miscellaneous Payments		31 4 8	
IV. Funds as at close of this Account—			
1. Balance at credit of Savings Account with Bank of Scotland, 103 George Street	£421 13 11		
Carry forward	£421 13 11	£688 7 11	

	Brought forward				£421	13	11	£688 7 11
2.	Balance at credit of Account Current with Do.		do.		131	16	10	
					£553	10	9	
Less—Due to Treasurer		£1	3	6				
Due to Messrs. T. & A. Constable		632	7	8				
					633	11	2	
					£80	0	5	
Sum of the Discharge equal to the Charge								£688 7 11

EDINBURGH, 14*th November* 1938.—I have examined the Accounts of the Honorary Treasurer of the Scottish History Society for the year from 1st November 1937 to 1st November 1938, and I find the same to be correctly stated and sufficiently vouched, closing with a Balance on Deposit Account with the Bank of Scotland, 103 George Street, Edinburgh, of £421, 13s. 11d., and a Balance at credit of the Society's Account Current with the said Bank of £131, 16s. 10d.

JOHN A. INGLIS,
Auditor.

Scottish History Society.

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1938-1939.

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1. The object of the Society is the discovery and printing, under selected editorship, of unpublished documents illustrative of the civil, religious, and social history of Scotland. The Society will also undertake, in exceptional cases, to issue translations of printed works of a similar nature, which have not hitherto been accessible in English.

2. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council, consisting of a Chairman, Treasurer, Secretary, and twelve elected Members, five to make a quorum. Three of the twelve elected Members shall retire annually by ballot, but they shall be eligible for re-election.

3. The Annual Subscription to the Society shall be One Guinea. The publications of the Society shall not be delivered to any Member whose Subscription is in arrear, and no Member shall be permitted to receive more than one copy of the Society's publications.

4. The Society will undertake the issue of its own publications, *i.e.* without the intervention of a publisher or any other paid agent.

5. The Society normally issues yearly two octavo volumes of about 320 pages each.

6. An Annual General Meeting of the Society shall be held at the end of October, or at an approximate date to be determined by the Council.

7. Two stated Meetings of the Council shall be held each year, one on the last Tuesday of May, the other on the Tuesday preceding the day upon which the Annual General Meeting shall be held. The Secretary, on the request of three Members of the Council, shall call a special meeting of the Council.

8. Editors shall receive 20 copies of each volume they edit for the Society.

9. The owners of Manuscripts published by the Society will also be presented with a certain number of copies.

10. The Annual Balance-Sheet, Rules, and List of Members shall be printed.

11. No alteration shall be made in these Rules except at a General Meeting of the Society. A fortnight's notice of any alteration to be proposed shall be given to the Members of the Council.

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